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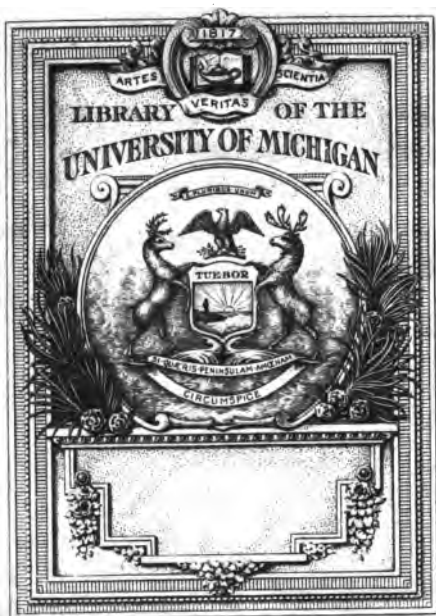
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**THE DEVELOPMENT
OF SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE
PHILIPPINE ISLANDS**

BY

VICTORIANO D. DIAMONON



**THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT
IN
THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS**

**BY
VICTORIANO D. DIAMONON**

**SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE COLLEGE OF THE
STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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TO

PROFESSOR BENJ. F. SHAMBAUGH WHOSE
PERSONAL INTEREST AND WISE COUNSEL
WERE A CONSTANT ENCOURAGEMENT TO
THE AUTHOR DURING HIS COLLEGE YEARS

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

The American administration in the Philippines has not received the unbiased study which it deserves, and as a consequence there is current a doubt as to its real worth. The Philippines themselves and their people are known as a group or groups of people more or less hostile toward each other who clamor for immediate independence. Attempts to evaluate the American rule have been subjected to vigorous restrictions for special interests. This is unfortunate, for such an attitude does not reflect the American integrity in the Islands and tends to becloud the facts which would otherwise give credit to Americans and Filipinos. Realizing this gross misrepresentation, the Filipinos have endeavored to correct the erroneous ideas but their good efforts have failed to make themselves felt. This is due to two reasons: first, because of the importance of politics; second, because of the lack of constructive propaganda.

Within the brief compass of this monograph it is necessary to limit the field of investigation to certain aspects of the American administration. In retracing the successive steps which the Filipinos have taken to the date they assumed practical self-government, the author has attempted to show the following: (1) that a dependency may be successfully administered without disregarding the desires of the governed — America has set the example; (2) that under a humane policy two races which have nothing traditionally or otherwise in common

may be made to coöperate with each other; (3) that the success of the American rule has been made possible because of the willing coöperation of the Filipinos themselves. The main purpose is to show the spirit of the administration and structural exposition has received little attention except where it was necessary. The monograph further attempts to show that the Filipinos' ambition for independent statehood, although very much abused for political purposes, is sincerely well meant and is largely responsible for the undivided coöperation in the execution of the liberal policy of America; that underneath this aspiration is a national consciousness — the indestructible feeling of nationality — which has developed in the course of their struggle for liberty and justice. At all events this monograph is an acceptance of the American rule in the Philippines.

The author does not fail to observe that, notwithstanding the apparent liberality of the American policy and the persistent demand of the Filipinos for independence, it appears that America must insist upon certain standards which she has set up for the Filipinos to follow before withdrawing from the Islands. So far the Filipinos have not gained the full confidence of the American people, and what is needed is real constructive propaganda and journalism which build rather than destroy.

In the preparation of this monograph the author wishes to express his many obligations to Professor Benj. F. Shambaugh for constant encouragement and suggestions which contributed to the realization of this undertaking. Likewise is the author under obligations to Colonel Chas. C. Walcutt, Jr., Assistant Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, for inspiration and valuable

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

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suggestions and for reading the manuscript before it went to press. The author respectfully acknowledges his obligation to Dr. Ruth A. Gallaher for editing the manuscript. No pretensions are made for exhaustive treatment of the subject.

VICTORIANO D. DIAMONON

**IOWA CITY IOWA
NOVEMBER 1920**

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I

INTRODUCTION: THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILITARY REGIME

May 1, 1898, that most memorable day when the Stars and Stripes waved over Manila Bay and five thousand brave sons engaged in the most deadly battle the Philippines ever witnessed, marked the downfall of the Peninsular Power in the Far East and the beginning of a new era in colonial administration. For the first time in the world's history did a strong nation enter a war not to enlarge its enviable glory and self-aggrandizement but to sympathize with an oppressed race. The United States of America, amateur as it was in colonial administration, made up its mind to make the Philippines a partaker of those rights, liberties, and privileges for which she herself so heroically bled.

The destruction of the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay gave the United States full authority over the city of Manila. Accordingly, President McKinley issued instructions to the military authorities to conduct its affairs and to establish peace and order in the capital city. Upon the capitulation of the Spanish troops on August 13, 1898, General Merritt, commanding the forces on land, proclaimed to the people of the Philippines the sovereignty of the United States, guaranteeing to them respect for their established institutions and personal rights.¹

With the restoration of general business to a peace basis several matters of importance presented themselves for solution. These were: the enforcement of tariff laws, which must necessarily be done as the ports were opened; the organization of public schools; the reorganization of courts to dispose of civil matters; the establishment of local government; the regulation of public health; the problem of the Republic of Negros; and the Bates treaty with the Sultan of Sulu. Because of their im-

¹ *Official Gazette* (Manila), January 1, 1903, pp. 1-4.

portance to subsequent legislation, and to the formulation of policies in later days each of these subjects deserves comment.

THE TARIFF

Under the Spanish tariff law the collection of revenues was most discouraging to trade. Duties on necessities were much larger than those on luxuries. This situation caused the creation of a board to revise the tariff system with a view to encouraging trade with the world, especially with the United States. Its sessions were open to the public and merchants and importers offered their suggestions. The report of the army board was published as the "Proposed customs tariff for ports in the Philippine Archipelago, as recommended by the Philippine Commission." Suggestions and recommendations were invited by the War Department until April 15, 1901, to be considered with a view to amendments before promulgation. Copies of this act were distributed in the United States. This tariff became act No. 230 of the laws adopted by the United States Philippine Commission on November 15, 1901. Five ports had already been opened by virtue of the President's order in the following order: Manila, August 20, 1898; Iloilo, February 22, 1899; Cebu, March 14, 1899; and Zamboanga, Siassi, and Jolo, December 26, 1899. The customs collections after the first two years of American occupation showed encouraging signs, amounting to \$19,389,238.87. The collections from August, 1898, to June, 1900, were \$11,483,813 — twice as large as those of 1897, 127 per cent more than for 1896, and nearly three times those for 1895.² The administration of coastwise trade was entrusted to customs officials and in order to care for patents and trade marks, including copyrights, an office was created in June, 1899, under the direction of Captain George P. Ahern.³

² *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 12, Pt. 10, pp. 7, 8, 9, 79, 83, 84, 145; *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, Pt. 1, pp. 121, 122. For a history of the tariff see *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XIII, Document No. 134, pp. 2-32. On page 69 is a table of comparison between the old Spanish tariff and the new tariff, which is Act No. 230 of the United States Philippine Commission.

³ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 10, pp. 13, 14, 162, 164; *Report of the Lieutenant General Commanding the Army*, 1900, Pt. 2, p. 488.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

The most notable feature of the American administration in the Philippines is the system of public education. Education is a requisite without which no popular government can long exist; it is the surest salvation of a race. The American people have reason to be proud of their liberal government. Hardly three weeks had passed after the occupation of Manila when a system of public education was instituted in the Philippines. On this subject Major General MacArthur said: "In all matters touching schools there is a fortunate coincidence of American interests and Filipino aspirations, which in this important particular come into complete and harmonious focus." While the country was at the verge of war with its ally against the common enemy, George P. Anderson was superintending twenty-four schools in Manila with an average attendance of 4,500 pupils. In other towns American soldiers took Filipino children on their laps and taught them English. The war between the Americans and the Filipinos which broke out in February, 1899, and persisted in bush warfare for a number of years did not seem to upset the work of the public schools or the eagerness of the Filipino parents to see their children educated. As early as March 30, 1900, the Department of Public Instruction came into being under the direction of Dr. Fred W. Atkinson. The report of the Schurman Commission in November, 1900, stated that the army had opened one thousand schools in the Philippines at an expenditure of over \$41,000 for books and supplies to say nothing of the many gifts which came from various societies in the United States. The significance of the generous enterprise is even more apparent from the fact that by September, 1900, the American soldiers were teaching 2,500 Mohammedan children in the Moro land.⁴

The Normal School, which to-day is one of the institutions of

⁴ *The Philippine Census*, 1903, Vol. III, p. 639; *Senate Documents*, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. XII, Document No. 112, p. 107; *Report of the Lieutenant General Commanding the Army*, 1900, Pt. 2, p. 492; *Annual Report of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 5, pp. 64, 265.

which the Insular Government is proud, was opened during the military régime. Likewise the Nautical School was opened in December, 1899, to train the Filipinos to conduct their own inter-island trade. The course covered a period of three years and was equal to the requirements in the United States Naval Academy.⁵

Perhaps the most interesting school at this time was the night school in Manila opened on September 3, 1900, upon the initiative of the Philippine Commission. The unexpectedly rapid inflow of students made it imperative to increase the number of schools. Each evening nineteen hundred students under the diligent tutorship of twenty-five instructors filled the class rooms. They were as different in age — ranging from twelve to sixty years — as they were different in occupation. Eager to learn the English language, clerks, merchants, newspaper reporters, salesmen, teachers, police, laborers, barbers, machinists, cigar makers, secretaries, janitors, and even firemen passed the hours of the evenings in this useful manner.⁶

ESTABLISHING JUSTICE

Upon the official occupation of the city of Manila on August 13, 1898, the courts had practically ceased to function. Prisons were crowded with convicts some of whom were cast into the dark cells for purely political reasons while others were awaiting unnecessarily deferred trial. So defective was the Spanish system of procedure that a thorough revision of the code was imperative. For this purpose General E. S. Otis created a commission with Don Cayetano Arellano as chairman to codify the legislative enactments and royal decrees of the past century.

In the message announcing the capitulation of the Spanish troops on August 13, 1898, it was stated that "This city, its inhabitants, its churches and religious worship, its educational establishments and its private property of all descriptions are placed under the special safeguard of the faith and honor of the

⁵ *Official Gazette*, January 1, 1903, p. 34; *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 4, p. 547, Pt. 10, pp. 240-244.

⁶ *Senate Documents*, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. XII, Document No. 112, p. 110.

American army.”⁷ Accordingly, General Merritt appointed a provost marshal general to take the place of the Spanish governor of Manila. By August 22, 1898, hardly two months after the arrival of the United States forces, military commissions and provost courts had been organized in different parts of the Philippines as they came within the jurisdiction of the United States. The military commissions and provost courts dealt with cases which were not triable exclusively by court martial. To dispose of the cases which demanded immediate attention General Otis opened the courts which were in operation prior to August 13th for general business. The Audiencia Territorial de Manila which was suspended on January 30, 1899, was reinstituted as the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands.⁸

The report of the board to codify the laws included, among others, a recommendation that the judges of the supreme court be not composed of Filipinos only. This liberal recommendation received a warm reception among the military authorities, and General Otis as Military Governor of the Philippines appointed the following judges for the chambers of the Supreme Court: President of the Supreme Court, Don Cayetano Arellano; president of the Civil Branch, Don Manuel Araullo assisted by Don Gregorio Araneta and Lieutenant Colonel E. H. Crowder. Don Reymundo Milleza was appointed president of the Criminal Branch assisted by Don Ambrosio Rianzares, Don Julio Llorente, Major R. W. Young, and Captain W. E. Birkhimer. Don Florentino Torres became the attorney of the Supreme Court with Don Dionicio Chanco as his associate.⁹ These were the initial appointments to responsible offices which even to-day have maintained their prestige before the public. Of the nine justices six were Filipinos and three were Americans. The president of the Supreme Court and the chairmen of the chambers were all

⁷ *Official Gazette*, January 1, 1903, p. 3.

⁸ *Official Gazette*, January 1, 1903, p. 5; *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 10, p. 154; *Report of Major-General E. S. Otis*, 1899, p. 148.

⁹ *Official Gazette*, January 1, 1903, p. 5; *Report of Major-General E. S. Otis*, 1899, pp. 145, 146, 148.

Filipinos who had long rendered service as judges during the Spanish régime. The attorneys were all natives of the Philippines.

But the real good which the commission accomplished consisted of the revision of the procedure with a view to making it more liberal and just to the accused. The commission abolished the notoriously slow criminal procedure of Spain and instituted a speedy and public trial of the accused. The old system of commencing proceedings without first serving notice to the defendant of the charges made against him was abolished. Under the new system the defendant is fully informed of the claim against him. He has the right to appear and defend himself at the trial which causes no unnecessary delay. In all cases he is entitled to bail which was not extended to him in the past. This much needed reform relieved the prisons of Manila.¹⁰ Commenting on this particular piece of reform, Chief Justice Arellano said:

"This law, based upon the accusatory system, has abolished the inquisitorial period so derogatory of the rights of the accused, and which was the foundation of our criminal procedure; the time formerly taken up by this inquisitorial system without the right of intervention on the part of the accused, which at times would be prolonged for years, dependent upon the difficulty of investigation, has been saved; the long period of preventive punishment suffered by many persons during the long summary of examination was carried on for the purpose of investigating the commission of the crime and whether any person was guilty thereof; the new procedure provides for complete equality between the accuser and the accused, between the prosecution carried on by the government and the defense of his personal liberty and the security interposed by the defendant; a brief proceeding which becomes and is public from its initiation, fully provides all that is necessary for complete defense, and is an absolute safeguard of personal security; this undoubtedly, is the

¹⁰ Gregorio Araneta's *Organisation of the Police and Judiciary in the Cablenews-American* (Manila, annual number), 1911, p. 32 *et seq.*

greatest benefit conferred upon the inhabitants of this country."¹¹

This reform was promulgated as General Order No. 58 on April 23, 1900. With respect to provincial courts, the courts of first instance were established in the various provinces as follows: Pangasinan, January 2, 1900; Cagayan and Isabella, January 16, 1900; Ilocos Sur, January 31, 1900; Cavite, February 13, 1900; Iloilo, March 27, 1900; Pampanga, Nueva Ecija, Ilocos Norte, and Bataan, April 30, 1900; Cebu, May 19, 1900; and Bohol, October 17, 1900.¹² As provinces were occupied local courts came into being, and to all superior courts like that of the island of Negros was given the authority of habeas corpus.¹³

Another reform which deserves comment in this connection was the regulation of marriage. During the Spanish time marriage was solemnized by the church alone. The unbearable expense which the ceremony entailed proved a detriment to morals, with the result that property descent was most difficult to determine. General Otis revoked "all laws and provisions, general and particular, and even those customary, which are in conflict with the order." It authorized the judge of any court inferior to the supreme court, justice of the peace, priest, or minister of the gospel to solemnize marriages.¹⁴

LOCAL AUTONOMY

The manner in which the military authorities administered the Philippine affairs in 1899 and 1900, and the way the Filipinos responded to the confidence which their new rulers accorded to them in the midst of the warfare and hostilities that

¹¹ Malcolm's *The Government of the Philippine Islands*, p. 681.

¹² *The Cablenews-American* (annual number), 1911, p. 32; *Report of Major-General E. S. Otis*, 1899, pp. 147, 148; *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 4, pp. 455, 456.

¹³ *Official Gazette*, January 1, 1903, p. 7.

¹⁴ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 4, p. 452; General Order No. 68 in *Official Gazette*, January 1, 1903, p. 16.

For an historical resumé of the administration of justice in the Philippines from 1582-1891 see Justice Arellano's treatise in *Senate Documents*, 56th Congress, 2nd Session, Vol. XII, Document No. 112, p. 225 *et seq.*

existed between the two races at the time, would seem like a miracle to an impartial observer. Popular government in the Philippines as far as local administration is concerned is not a product of years of experience. On August 8, 1899, in the teeth of guerilla warfare, the military headquarters issued an order outlining the political machinery of each town occupied by the American troops. The order provided for the election of a president, vice-president, and council. It was a sort of a town-meeting where the chief officer was elected by acclamation. He must be a native Filipino and a property holder. But for the absence of ballots the election was otherwise modern. The aldermen composing the council were elected by the inhabitants of their respective wards. Executing the duties which ordinarily belong to these offices, the officers were charged with full responsibilities for their city. The city government established a police force and collected taxes and fees. It was the duty of the local government to establish and provide public education, to enforce sanitary laws, to regulate the sale of foods and intoxicants, and to perform the other duties which ordinarily belong to municipal governments. The council had the duty of passing ordinances to govern the conduct of the inhabitants, while as aldermen in their wards they had to maintain peace and order.¹⁵

This tentative form of local government was tried in the most rebellious towns of Bacoor, Imus, and Cavite with eminent success. The senior army officer in the town passed upon the ordinances before they were promulgated. Encouraged by their initial success the order was applied in other towns — Las Piñas, Parañaque, Pandacan, Santa Ana, San Felipe, Neri, San Pedro Macati, and Malolos.¹⁶

Purely on his own initiative General Lawton ordered the first popular election in the Philippines. On May 7, 1899, the town of Baliwag saw the birth of popular government in the Philippine Islands. The election resulted in the triumphant victory of

¹⁵ *Official Gazette*, January 1, 1903, p. 7; *Report of Major-General E. S. Otis*, 1899, p. 144; *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 6, p. 22, Pt. 8, pp. 140, 143, 144, 163-165.

¹⁶ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 177, 178.

Francisco Gregorio, the first officer and president elected under the American rule.¹⁷

At Maycawayan a novel election took place under the direction of Major Kobbe. The voters filed past the judges of election, whispered their preferences, and their votes were recorded.

All these were provisional measures to meet the exigencies of the time. On January 29, 1900, the Military Governor created a commission to draw up a general framework for the government of cities and towns in the Philippines, and again Chief Justice Arellano was appointed chairman.¹⁸ Two months later the commission submitted its report and made a recommendation which was promulgated as General Order No. 40.¹⁹ Because it formed the basis for subsequent legislation a brief comment on its content may not be out of place.

According to its provisions, incorporated towns were known as *municipios* with the ordinary corporate rights and privileges: that is, the right to sue and be sued; to contract and be contracted with; and to acquire and hold real and personal property. The *municipios* were divided into four classes, the number of aldermen being dependent upon the population. Cities with a population of at least 25,000 were in the first class; those with 18,000–25,000 population were in the second class; those with from 10,000–18,000 belonged to the third class; while those with less than 10,000 inhabitants were in the fourth class. First class cities were entitled to eighteen aldermen, second class cities to fourteen, third class cities to ten, and fourth class cities to eight. Manila, being a special city, is not included in the classification.

The officers were composed of the *alcalde*, municipal lieutenant, and councillors, elected by popular vote for two years. The secretary, the treasurer, and the attorney were to be elected by the council.

As chief executive, the *alcalde* was clothed with the powers

¹⁷ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1899, Vol. I, Pt. 5, p. 88.

¹⁸ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 4, p. 476.

¹⁹ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 4, pp. 477–487.

and duties which generally pertain to that office. By and with the consent of the council he made the appointments of the officers whose election was not provided for. The *alcalde* enforced the ordinances, supervised the collection of taxes, presided at public auction, and issued warrants upon the treasury.

The office of the city attorney was filled by a Filipino lawyer. As adviser of the city, he represented the corporation in all its legal relations. He was required to attend the sessions of the council but did not have a vote.

The duties which fell upon the secretary and the treasurer were those ordinarily conferred upon such officers. Like all other officers of the city they were required to give a bond which in the case of the treasurer was to be sufficient to cover the estimated amount which would come under his care.

The duties of the city council were most complete. Each year the body resolved itself into committees taking charge of the police, public health, agriculture, irrigation, live stock, public works and roads, and schools.

The franchise was extended to all male citizens 23 years of age who during the six months immediately prior to the election had resided in the city where the vote was to be polled. In addition to these requirements, each elector must belong to one of these classes: a municipal captain, *gobernadoreillo*, lieutenant, or *cabeza de barangay*, prior to August 13, 1898; a tax payer of thirty pesos a year; or be able to read, speak, and write English or Spanish.

The disqualified consisted of the criminals and the insane and feeble-minded; those who had been convicted three times for disorderly conduct; debtors to municipal funds and those who had pending litigation with a *municipio* or had a contract with city or provincial enterprises. To do away with the old question of church and state, ecclesiastics and soldiers were barred from office and if a certain petition were filed with the secretary an officer might not be elected for a third term.

This, in brief, was the local government in the Philippines until the United States Philippine Commission had legislated upon the subject. It should be noted that local self-government

was not a gradual concession to the Filipinos. It was given to them without previous training. The application of the law was determined by a senior officer of the United States army and upon his recommendation it was applied to a specified city. Six months after its promulgation the general order was in operation in seventy-seven municipalities in the Philippines.²⁰

On January 31, 1901, the United States Philippine Commission passed an act²¹ providing for the government of cities and towns in the Philippines. It was General Order No. 40 with some improvements. The most important change made by the commission was that relative to the extension of suffrage. Under the new law holders of property to the value of 500 pesos might also vote. The disqualifications were revised. Those barred from voting consisted of delinquent tax payers, assessed on August 13, 1898; those declared incompetent by the court; violators of allegiance to the United States; the criminals and the feeble-minded. Thus, it is seen that the Philippine Commission made local government more popular by extending the suffrage.

PUBLIC HEALTH

The war with the United States not only depleted the population but made public health insecure. With the attention of the medical profession concentrated in army camps the non-military

²⁰ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 10, p. 29.

These municipalities were the following: Benguet (Abra), Cavite, Cavite Viejo, La Caridad (Cavite), Laoag (Ilocos Norte), Candon, Vigan (Ilocos Sur), Jaen, Cabiao, Panaranda, Gapan, San Antonio, Santa Rosa (Nueva Ecija), Angeles, Apalit, Arayat, Bacolor, Batis, Candaba, Flora Blanca, Guagua, Lubao, Mabalocat, Macabebe, Magalang, Mexico, Porac, San Fernando, Santa Ana, San Luis, San Miguel, San Simon, Santa Rita, Santo Tomas, Sexmoan (Pampanga), Calasiao, Dagupan (Pangasinan), Sariaja, Tayabas (Tayabas), Namacpacan, San Fernando (Union), Alegria, Balemaban, Bantayan, Bago, Cebu, Daan, Dumanjug, Medellin, Naga, Remegio (Cebu), Antique, Colasi (Antique), Calivo, Pontevedra (Capiz), Maycawayan, Palo (Bulacan), Iloilo (Iloilo), San Isidro, Talavera, Cabanatuan, Bongabong, Saragosa, Rosales, Humingan, Aliaga, Cuyapo, San Quintin (Nueva Ecija), Mauban (Tayabas), Pandan, Capiz, Dao, Dumarao, Ibajay, Mambusao, and all towns of Bohol except Carmen.

²¹ Act No. 82 of the United States Philippine Commission.

public was necessarily neglected. In the city of Manila congestion offered a fertile soil for disease and epidemics. This situation was made doubly bad by the lepers who mingled with the healthy public. Of all the hospitals which the Spaniards provided for these unfortunates only two deserve mention — the San Lazaro in Manila and another in Nueva Caceres with a total capacity of four hundred beds.

The city health board, made up of army physicians, started a systematic campaign first in the arrest of lepers for the purpose of segregating them and second in establishing laboratories and opening hospitals and free dispensaries. Vaccination for small pox was rigidly enforced.²²

THE REPUBLIC OF NEGROS

Of all the provinces in the Philippines Negros has shown itself to be the most forbearing and conservative. During the Spanish rule the Negroses shouldered their burden most patiently, always slow to anger and slower to raise their hand against the wrongs and injustice against which their brothers in the north had long since revolted. As if at the end of the rope of their patience the peaceful Negroses rose against their rulers. In November, 1898, the high tension caused an outbreak which resulted in the lowering of the Spanish flag in the island of Negros. The Spaniards left the island minus their arms never to return, and all the public responsibility and public property came into the hands of a provisional government which the inhabitants had organized. The Spaniards changed their opinion of the people of Negros. The people, whom they had thought for centuries were mere playthings, found themselves all of a sudden in the unbound freedom and liberty for which they had fought single-handed. The manner in which the inhabitants maintained peace and order following the unexpected triumph perplexed the American authorities in Manila.

When this status was gained Manila had already been occupied by the United States troops. With the treaty of Paris still pending, the people of Negros did not know but that Spain might

²² *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 10, pp. 283, 284, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. 4, pp. 248, 249.

retain some of the islands in the Philippine Archipelago. The ratification of the treaty however gave the United States full title to all the islands. This forced the Negreseños to choose between two alternatives—whether to perfect the provisional government and run the risk of probable dissensions in the future, or to accept the sovereignty of the United States and rest secure. Prudent deliberation chose the latter.

Accordingly, on November 12, 1898, the congress of the republic framed a resolution and commissioned José Araneta to present it to Captain Glass at that time commanding the *Charleston* in the harbor, requesting him to assume charge of the new government under the Stars and Stripes. Of course the captain had to decline, having received no such instructions, and the delegate returned disappointed. While awaiting the next opportunity of requesting protection from the United States authority, the republic determined to run its own affairs. Following the outbreak of hostilities between the Americans and the Filipinos on February 4, 1899, General Miller took possession of Iloilo on February 12th. Again the congress of Negros despatched a delegation to the general to negotiate for protection, but it was advised to proceed to Manila and present its cause to General Otis, the Military Governor of the Philippines. As a result troops were despatched to the island under the command of General Smith with instruction to frame a constitution suitable to the needs of the locality.²³

A committee to formulate a constitution sat in Bacolod, the capital of the republic. It was composed of Jose Luzuriaga, president of the congress, Estanislao Yusay, its vice-president, Manuel Jaime, delegate from Bacolod, Manuel Ledesma, delegate from Pontevedra, and Manuel Regalado, delegate from Binalbagan. The draft was forwarded to General Otis through the congress.²⁴

What the Filipino committee on drafting a constitution had

²³ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 10, pp. 249, 251.

²⁴ *Annual Reports of the War Department* (Major General Commanding the Army), 1899, Pt. 3, pp. 338, 341.

produced may be of interest as bearing on their political capacity. Under the proposed constitution the Republic of Negros had two governors: a military governor appointed by General Otis, and a civil governor elected by the voters of Negros. One was American, the other a Filipino. The military governor was the chief executive endowed with full powers to enforce the law and to appoint non-elective officers. The civil governor was adviser to the military governor and presided in the deliberations of the council. Other important portfolios were the secretary of the treasury, the secretary of agriculture, the secretary of public instruction, the attorney general, and the auditor — all to be appointed by the military governor. The judicial power was vested in three judges appointed by the military governor. Rather a novel feature was the power of the council to determine the mode of procedure of the court. The legislative body or the council was composed of eight members — three from Oriental Negros, four from Occidental Negros, and one delegate at large.

The qualifications of the electors in the island of Negros were even more liberal than those subsequently prescribed by the Philippine Commission in 1901. The electorate was composed of the male citizens of the island of Negros at least 21 years of age, able to speak, read, and write English, Spanish, or the Visayan dialect. In addition to these each elector must hold real property to the value of 500 pesos or pay rental on real property valued at 1000 pesos. The residence requirement was one year in the island and not less than three months in the district where the elector intended to vote. Certain groups were specifically disqualified.²⁵

The constitution was proclaimed to take effect on July 22, 1899. On October 2, 1899, the first general election in the Philippines was held in the island of Negros. Of the six thousand who registered five thousand voted, electing Sr. Melecio Severino, the first Filipino governor under the United States rule. The officers took office on November 6th which happened to be the

²⁵ *Annual Reports of the War Department* (Major General Commanding the Army), 1899, Pt. 2; p. 125.

anniversary of the overthrow of the Spanish government.²⁶

Under these provisions the Republic of Negros administered the civil affairs subject to the military veto of the governor. After the elections conditions returned to normal and it is said that more planting was done that year than any time during the previous twenty-five years. A model farm under the auspices of the government was an asset to the public treasury. To campaign against locusts and rinderpest, agricultural societies were organized in the province. Government accounts were well audited and the public funds well guarded. Gambling was banned and cock-fighting restricted to holidays. The system of education was extended from the halls of the public schools to prisons where the convicts were taught certain trades while serving their term. Municipal governments, instituted under the provisions of the constitution, restored the cities to sanitary conditions. Furthermore a commission was created to adopt measures to alleviate the impending famine due to the failure of crops from drought.

This was the short-lived Republic of Negros which attracted the attention of the authorities in Manila. It operated smoothly until the Province of Occidental Negros was established on April 20, 1901, upon the petition of the citizens.²⁷

THE MORO PROBLEM

Of no little significance to the establishment of law and order in the Philippines was the subjection of the Moros to the government. During the entire period of Spanish sovereignty in the Philippines the Moros maintained their own kingdom and refused to be received into the fold of civilization. In spite of the treaty of 1878 with Spain in which the Sultan pledged himself to enforce orderly behavior among his subjects, pillage and surprise attacks upon sister islands were of frequent occurrence.

²⁶ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1900, Vol. I, Pt. 10, p. 252, Pt. 4, p. 405, Pt. 5, p. 251.

²⁷ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXIII, Document No. 331, Pt. 1, pp. 13, 14; Act No. 119 of the United States Philippine Commission.

At the time the United States occupied the city of Manila, the Moros were a constant menace to inter-island trade.

The conditions existing at the time were destined to be a test of American temperament on the one hand and of American good will and diplomacy on the other in the matter of establishing peaceful relations with the unwilling and foreign element of the Islands. The United States could have despatched an army to the south and taken possession of the vast territory by force. The military governor, however, employed amicable means under the most trying conditions, and on August 20, 1899, General Bates concluded a treaty with the Sultan of Sulu.

Among the provisions of the treaty the Sultan acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States, conceding to it the right to occupy any port for garrison purposes. The Sultan agreed to lend all aid in the suppression of piracy by bringing those engaged in pillage to justice. On the part of the United States she agreed to refrain from adopting drastic measures in dealing with the subjects of the Sultan. The rights and dignities of the Sultan were to be respected and there was to be no interference in their religion and customs. The United States promised protection to the Moros in case of foreign aggression. Inter-island trade could be carried on with the Moros in unlimited degree provided the Moros would carry their goods under the American flag. Under this condition their goods would be exempt from duty. Lastly, the United States agreed to pay the Sultan a monthly salary of \$250 and various amounts to his *datos*.²⁸

The President of the United States approved the treaty so concluded by General Bates except article ten which gave the slaves the right to purchase their freedom.²⁹

The days that followed showed that the Sultan was not abiding by the terms of the treaty. This resulted in the abrogation of the covenant on March 21, 1904. The eleven years which followed saw the Moros busy contending with the Philippine con-

²⁸ *Senate Documents*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. IX, Document No. 136, pp. 2, 26.

²⁹ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1903, Vol. V, Pt. 1, p. 492.

stabulary and with the United States army. Finally, on March 22, 1915, the Sultan relinquished his sovereignty and finally acknowledged the sovereignty of the United States. Thus ended the Moro problem which was a constant menace to peace during the last three hundred years. On March 22, 1915, began a new era in the history of the Moro people. Since then not a drop of blood has been shed or a single shot been fired in the land where, in previous years, slaughter was a sacred duty.⁸⁰

The military régime from 1898-1901 is significant in two or three respects. First, in the absence of congressional legislation and acting solely under the military power of the President, the authority of the Military Governor was broad and all-inclusive. It was exercised in a liberal and constructive manner. In the midst of social chaos and disorder the military authority through proclamations and general orders organized a system of education, established municipal governments based on democratic principles, instituted a system of courts, and most important of all established a new code of criminal procedure. The provisional tariff which was later enacted into law regulated trade and commerce and restricted Chinese immigration. Public hygiene and sanitation were entrusted to the medical corps which conducted a campaign against disease and epidemics. These were not all, for in March, 1900, the Mining Bureau came into life to be followed in April by the Bureau of Forestry. Thus, under military authority, the general welfare of the Philippines received the much needed reform and stimulus.

In the second place, from another standpoint, there is one aspect of the situation which, because the trait has been wonderfully maintained to the present day, deserves an observation. The Filipinos showed unbounded eagerness to learn and to co-operate in the execution of the liberal concessions granted to them. In the thick of war and social breakdown Filipino parents were unusually eager to see their children educated, crowding not only the day classes but also the night schools. Turning to the pages of their record in municipal administration, it is found

⁸⁰ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1903, Pt. 1, pp. 489-542, 1904, Pt. 1, p. 13, Pt. 2, pp. 572-594, 1915, pp. 297 ff.

that the Filipinos have shown extraordinary fitness for the responsibility entrusted to them by the authorities. A better indication of their ability in times of crisis was the experience of Negros. The manner in which the islanders maintained law and order at the point of threats and dissensions surprised the military authorities.

Thirdly, it may be added that the administration of Philippine affairs has been established on a responsible basis. Under the American administration the officials in charge of the different branches of the government submitted their reports not to the national headquarters in Washington but to the Military Governor or Governor General. At first it was suggested that the various executive branches of the Philippine government be subordinated to the respective departments in the United States. This plan was especially urged with respect to the Department of Public Instruction. Had this been done the pages of Philippine history would have had a different story. Alaska represents an irresponsible type of territorial administration. The local representatives are responsible to the officials at Washington. This type of colonial administration proved a failure in French Algeria. The heads of the executive departments gave an account of their offices not to the governor of Algeria but directly to the minister of the French Government. The system was later abolished.³¹

It can not be questioned that the military régime is memorable for its liberality and kind treatment. Its beginning was the beginning of the establishment of the civil government in the Philippines. The United States troops have reason to be proud of their pioneer work in the Philippines.

³¹ *The American Historical Review*, Vol. XXI, p. 302.

II

LAWMAKING POWER: THE EVOLUTION OF THE PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE

An efficient system of administration does not always insure the satisfaction of the governed. In the sphere of government the principle of the consent of the governed is not a thing to be disregarded. A government which ignores this fundamental right is doomed to destruction. History has shown this to be an invariable truth, and Spain, because she refused to recognize this fact, was crushed as a colonial power in the Far East.

In popular government the principle that the government derives its power from the consent of the governed comes to its fairest realization when the people exercise the right to choose the officers who shall formulate the laws to rule their conduct. When the matter is considered in connection with a subject race the franchise has a far reaching significance. To exercise it is to exercise the most sacred trust, and to the extent and manner it is used the fairmindedness and common sense of a people are judged. But it must also follow that lawmaking, to say the least, is the most important function of government, since it is concerned with the practical and every day aspects of human association.

The development of a popular legislature in the Philippines and the extension of lawmaking power in less than twenty years is the American achievement that surprised the world. Because of its paramount importance, it may be well to observe the several steps which led to the realization of the Philippine legislature, the first and the only representative assembly in the Far East.

THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION

The concession of legislative authority to Filipinos was a grad-

ual process. It may be divided into three parts or stages. The first part began September 1, 1900, when the United States Philippine Commission assumed the legislative functions over the Philippines. October 16, 1907, saw the beginning of the second stage. On this memorable day the Philippine Assembly, composed of Filipinos popularly elected, was inaugurated as the lower house of the Philippine Legislature. The Philippine Commission which became the upper house was composed of five Americans and three Filipinos appointed by the President. The third stage of the evolution took place on October 16, 1916, when the Philippine Senate composed of Filipinos popularly elected supplanted the appointive American-Filipino Commission. Thus, it is seen that the Philippine Commission was the first lawmaking body in the Philippines, having derived its ample powers from the military authority of the President of the United States. Some aspects of its nature and powers will be considered.

Under the authority conferred upon him by Congress to establish civil government in the Philippines until further legislation, the President, on March 16, 1900, created the United States Philippine Commission composed of Wm. H. Taft, chairman, Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses. Formal instructions which embodied the powers of the Commission were issued on April 7, 1900. The Commission reported for duty in the Philippines early in the spring, and after familiarizing itself with the conditions in the islands and with the work which the military authorities had so nobly begun, the Commission formally announced its presence and purposes in the Islands and began to function September 1, 1900. An essential feature of the proclamation was the provision that the citizens of the Philippines were welcome to make any criticism or suggestion on the measures under consideration by the Commission. Copies of the bills would be distributed free and on certain days the Commission would receive such criticisms and suggestions as the public might offer. This opportunity for discussion was a prerequisite to enactment and no bill was to be finally acted upon until ample time had been granted for suggestions. The executive authority remained under military control until the

inauguration of Mr. Taft as Civil Governor of the Philippine Islands the following year.³²

The President's instruction defined the order in which the Commission should establish civil government in the Islands. The Commission was first to establish municipalities in which Filipinos "shall be afforded the opportunity to manage their own local affairs to the fullest extent of which they are capable, and subject to the least degree of supervision and control". Political training in local affairs and then larger responsibilities in provincial affairs and ultimately in insular matters seem to have been the order of political discipline designed for the Filipinos.³³

July 4, 1901, saw the inauguration of Mr. Taft as Civil Governor of the Philippines. On that same day President McKinley proclaimed peace and amnesty, pardoning all those who had participated in the insurrection. But from the standpoint of the Filipinos the most notable step was that of September 1, 1901, when the President appointed three Filipinos to the Philippine Commission. The first appointee was Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera, a former president of the Federal Party which advocated early peace by accepting the sovereignty of the United States. He had accompanied the Philippine Commission in its tours through the country. The second man appointed was Sr. Benito Legarda who in previous years had rendered valuable service to the military authority. The third was Sr. Jose Luzuriaga who had been instrumental in establishing the short-lived Republic of Negros.³⁴ These three Filipinos were the first to be officially honored by the responsibility of formulating the policy for their country.

The Philippine Commission, while acting in the capacity of a legislative body, was also an executive board since it acted as the cabinet to the Civil Governor. By executive order of the Presi-

³² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXI, p. 910; *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1901, pp. 19, 120, 121.

³³ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 55.

³⁴ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 63, 64, Pt. 8, pp. 16, 17, Pt. 9, p. 281.

dent the Commission passed an act creating four executive departments of the government, and these were assigned to the members of the Commission as follows: Department of Interior, Dean C. Worcester; Department of Commerce and Police, Luke E. Wright; Department of Finance and Justice, Henry C. Ide; Department of Public Instruction, Bernard Moses. As chairman of the Commission the Governor had general supervision over these departments, the civil service board, and the municipal and provincial governments.³⁵

It may be noted that the heads of the executive departments were chosen from the American members of the Commission, consequently each of these men was drawing two salaries — as members of the United States Philippine Commission and as members of the legislative body of the Philippines. The Civil Governor had an aggregate salary of \$15,000 and each of the American members \$10,500. The Filipino members were allowed their share in the appointments on the various committees formed in the Commission. Out of fifteen committees, the Filipinos held the chairmanship in six. Mr. Luzuriaga was chairman of the committee on agriculture and finance, and of the one on banking and currency. Mr. Legarda was chairman of the committee on taxation and revenue. Dr. Tavera was chairman of the committees on health and on municipal and provincial governments. Some one of these men sat in every other committee in the Commission.³⁶

Under this form of government the Filipinos were governed until 1907. It was a government created under the authority of the President as the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. The concession only partially satisfied the desires and aspirations of the Filipino people for increased participation in the insular government. In the years from 1898 to 1901 Dewey's victory in Manila Bay seems to have settled down as an historical fact and there was a change of attitude in the American mind toward the Philippine problem which may be noted briefly at this time.

³⁵ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. 8, p. 18; Act No. 222 of the United States Philippine Commission.

³⁶ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. 8, p. 19.

During these years the people of Luzon were reluctant if not unwilling to recognize the authority of the United States. Imperialistic politicians in America drunk with the triumph of the victories of Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay, became dazzled with the glory and power. In Congress the anti-imperialists found a strong opposition to contend with. About 1900 when the memory of the havoc and terror inflicted by the dogs of war had faded from the public mind the American politicians came to a sober second thought and the amazing and staggering data of the war caused a change of attitude toward the Philippine problem. For the suppression of insurrections, bush warfare, and intermittent fighting the United States had spent the staggering amount of \$600,000,000 and had sacrificed 10,000 of her youths. Yet peace was not to be found in the Philippines. In Cuba, American soldiers received the warm friendship of the Cubans; in the Philippines the Filipinos' friendship and reverence for their ally and liberator had turned into hatred and enmity. The empty sleeves and wounds which returned from Cuba were badges of honor; those which came back from the battlefields of the Philippines were marks of antagonism inflicted by a people who believed they were duped.⁸⁷ The three years, 1898-1901, which wrought decisive changes in Cuba, to the satisfaction of the Cubans, wrought also a change of attitude toward the Philippine question in the United States, affecting the tone of orations and debates on the burning problem of the period. In 1898 and 1899 the lust of power furnished the backbone of all the speeches that maintained that the American flag was never to be hauled down in the Philippines; in 1901 this claim vanished like a cloud. It was publicly avowed then that America must enter upon the novel task of colonial administration on purely humanitarian grounds and must act as the schoolmaster in the Philippines. This was the change which the years had wrought in the United States, but a large army had to be maintained in the Philippines for garrison purposes.⁸⁸

The attitude of the Filipinos toward the United States during

⁸⁷ See the account of Aguinaldo-Pratt Alliance in Chapter VI, below.

⁸⁸ See Senator Hoar's speech in the Senate, May 22, 1902.

these three years was not clear to the authorities, especially to the civil officials. Doubting the purposes of the United States in the Philippines, the Filipinos had naturally grown distrustful. Their sad experiences with unfulfilled promises in the past necessarily made them suspicious and distrustful of any foreign pledge. Tired of autocracy and injustice and without faith in solemn covenants, the Filipinos were inclined to question the sincerity of the official proclamations. During the Spanish rule promises were seldom fulfilled and now that that régime was ended the Filipinos demanded acts rather than rosy hopes derived from bright promises. It was this dominant skepticism which, in the opinion of bush fighters, justified dual personality — friends of the American administration during the day but enemies during the night. Under the circumstances this method of warfare was the last recourse. To meet the American army in the open field would be a waste of life. So, rather than sacrifice human life, the Filipinos accepted the sovereignty of the United States, not because they were willing but because it was wise. Between February, 1899, and June, 1900, 10,700 Filipinos were killed in battle, 2,104 were wounded, and about 2,000 were captured, to say nothing of the towns and provinces which were reduced to ashes. To the military authorities, water torture was a justifiable and mild method of securing confessions, but to the Filipinos it was a loud alarm warning them of the coming of another autocracy. The very thought of it produced a deadly terror in the population. Rather than perish, the Filipinos laid down their arms, demanded the establishment of civil government, and above all a definite statement of policy from Congress.³⁹ Strictly speaking, real peace was not established in the islands until 1916 when the Jones Law granted the Filipinos full control of their legislature.

THE INAUGURATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY

✓ On July 1, 1902, a law was enacted which gave the Filipinos a

³⁹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 342, 644; *Senate Documents*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXXVI, Document No. 435, p. 2, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XVI, Document No. 187, p. 2.

feeling of partial security. The law "temporarily to provide for the administration of civil affairs in the Philippine Islands and for other purposes" approved all the acts of the President. It approved the creation of the United States Philippine Commission, the establishment of the Civil Governor as the chief executive, and the organization of the four executive departments and bureaus. But the provision which interested the Filipinos most was that which established the Philippine Assembly or lower house composed of Filipinos elected by popular vote. The concession was conditional. Peace must exist in the Islands to the satisfaction of the Philippine Commission which would certify the same to the President of the United States. The President would then order the census to be taken and if peace continued for two years after the publication of the census, the President, upon the recommendation of the Commission, would order the general election of the delegates to the Philippine Assembly. These conditions were satisfied and the general election was called for July 30, 1907.⁴⁰

The electorate was composed of all male residents at least 23 years of age not citizens or subjects of any foreign power, who had resided in the municipality where the vote was to be cast at least six months immediately preceding the election. In addition to these, each voter must belong to at least one of the following classes: a municipal captain, gobernadorcillo, alcalde, lieutenant, cabeza de barangay, or member of the ayuntamiento, prior to August 13, 1898; a holder of real property valued at 500 pesos; or pay a tax to the amount of 30 pesos; or speak, write, and read English and Spanish. Those specifically disqualified from voting were: delinquent tax payers since August 13, 1898; violators of their allegiance to the United States; those who rose against the United States May 1, 1898, or thereafter; those who since March 31, 1901, had lent aid to agitators

⁴⁰ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. 10, p. 617, 1902, Vol. 10, Pt. 1, p. 5; *United States Compiled Statutes*, 1918, Sec. 3804; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. 1, pp. 693, 694, 1059; *Official Gazette*, February 13, 1907, pp. 109, 110, April 10, 1907, pp. 234, 235, 236.

against the sovereignty of the United States; the insane and the feeble-minded.⁴¹

Thirty-five provinces held the general election on July 30, 1907. Of the 104,966 who registered 100,493 actually voted. The lack of interest in public affairs which these figures showed aroused many serious criticisms of the concession which Congress had made to the Filipinos. In the provincial elections in 1903 109,444 voted out of the 151,277 who were qualified to vote, and in 1905, 130,000 polled their votes out of 143,000 who registered. The difference in figures may be attributed to the difference in the period of registration. Whereas in 1905 the registration period was fifteen days, in 1907 it was only four days, and many careless or indifferent electors failed to register in time. In the provincial and municipal election in November, 1907, 161,697 actually voted out of 171,642 who registered.⁴²

The law provided that the delegates to the Assembly must recognize the sovereignty of the United States and be at least 25 years of age. Eighty-one delegates were elected, representing the few political factions and parties which existed at that time: Nacionalista, 32; Progresista, 17; Inmediatista, 7; Independista, 4; 20 who claimed no party affiliations; and one candidate representing the Roman Catholic church. Of the eighty-one ten were between 25 and 30 years of age and a few were over forty. More than half of the total number were attorneys, thirteen were journalists, eight professors, nine governors under the American rule, and about half had held office in the revolutionary government. Thirty-six had the degree of Bachelor of Arts and almost all had been to college. Six had had the privilege of travel in the United States, one — Emilio Gala — being an alumnus of the Law College of the University of Michigan. Two had studied in Spain. All but ten were property holders. Three had been

⁴¹ *Official Gazette*, February 13, 1907, pp. 114, 117.

⁴² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1906, Pt. 1, p. 156, 1908, Pt. 1, pp. 85, 86; Ide's *The Philippine Assembly in The Independent*, Vol. LXIII, p. 600; *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 175.

The delegates to the Assembly were apportioned as follows: Albay 3, Ambos Camarines 3, Antique 1, Bataan 1, Batangas 3, Bohol 3, Bulacan 2, Cagayan 2, Capiz 3, Cavite 1, Cebu 7, Ilocos Norte 2, Ilocos Sur 3, Iloilo 5,

defendants before the criminal courts, Dr. Dominador Gomez being the most famous.⁴³

Mr. Taft, then Secretary of War, came to the Philippines and with all due ceremonials opened the Philippine Assembly.

For many peoples the development of representative government has been the product of hundreds of years of trial and arduous preparation. The Filipinos secured it in nine short years. The call of Governor Smith for the election of the delegates to the Philippine Assembly marked an epoch in the history of colonial administration. The Filipinos' capacity for self-government and the unprecedented policy of the United States were given a crucial test. The day determined once for all that the United States must remain in the Philippines until the task so well begun was finished. The call for the election surprised America itself and astonished the whole of Europe. It was the verdict of the first nine years of American rule.

The receipt of the President's order for a general election of the delegates to the first Filipino Assembly gave universal satisfaction in the Islands. A Filipino daily had this headline: "Conservative Filipinos see the Fruit of their Patience and Labor for Peace in their Country".⁴⁴ Prospective candidates, anxious to fulfil the residence requirements, hastily vacated Manila and started campaigns in their respective provinces. The country was divided on two main issues — immediate independence or independence later after due preparation. The Nacionalistas wished the immediate freedom of the Philippines from

Isabela 1, La Laguna 2, La Union 2, Leyte 4, Manila 2, Mindoro 1, Misamis 2, Nueva Ecija 1, Occidental Negros 3, Oriental Negros 2, Palawan 1, Pampanga 2, Pangasinan 5, Rizal 2, Romblon 1, Samar 3, Sorsogon 2, Surigao, 1, Tayabas 2, Zambales 1. Total 81, one delegate for every 90,000 population or major fraction thereof.— *Official Gazette*, February 13, 1907, pp. 110, 111.

⁴³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. 1, p. 694, amended by Act No. 2045, Sec. 7, of the Philippine Legislature; *The American Review of Reviews*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 357; *The Independent*, Vol. LXIV, p. 357; *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 175 ff.; *The World To-Day*, Vol. XV, p. 848.

⁴⁴ *The Cablenews-American*, March 31, 1907, p. 1.

the United States while the Progresistas were for training and education first eventually leading to the same happy end. Two leading candidates stand out most prominently in the campaign. Dr. Dominador Gomez, a Spaniard and the most eloquent orator within the boundaries of the Philippines, ran on the Nacionalista ticket, while Juan Sumulong on the Nacional Progresista platform was his opponent. Since the record of Dr. Gomez later became the object of criticism, it should be noted here. He was the first president of the Workingmen's Union in the Philippines. In 1903 he was arrested on the charge of misappropriating the funds of the Union and for giving aid to the insurgents. He was sentenced to twenty-six months' imprisonment. Again in 1904 he was tried for treason but was acquitted for lack of evidence. While he was a candidate for the Assembly he undertook to secure the surrender of some noted outlaws of whom Montalon and Sakay were the most famous, promising them light punishment.⁴⁵ In a straw ballot taken by the *El Renacimiento* Dr. Gomez was voted the most popular, most sincere, and ablest of the delegates, and Dr. Tavera the most astute.

All the candidates who ran for office were self-nominated. The enthusiasm displayed in these first political campaigns became a matter of grave concern both to the anti-imperialists and the imperialists in the United States and in the Philippines. Those who favored the retention of the Philippine Islands entertained the fear lest the concession should prove premature. The antis expressed grave doubts as to the ability of the Filipinos to maintain popular government.

The American population in Manila took a non-partisan attitude towards the election, but did not remain away from the polls. In a non-partisan convention called by the American population of Manila, Americans and Filipinos heard the planks of each party from the candidates themselves. The purpose of the convention was to determine for which candidate the Americans should cast their votes. Their choice was easily made. Election day brought this glaring poster: "Cast your vote for The American People's Candidate who has a sound Common

⁴⁵ *The Independent*, Vol. LXIII, p. 303.

Sense Platform. We do not ask for electric, urgent or immediate Independence but Willingly Wait Until Uncle Sam Sees Fit to Grant It. Your Vote Will Be Appreciated".⁴⁶

The Catholic party entered politics and boosted for its candidate on purely orthodox arguments. The friar element advocated state religion and a parochial school under the auspices of the Insular government.⁴⁷

After the election, forecasts of the coming Philippine Assembly began to come. According to the *Washington Star* the candidates for the Assembly were unfit for the office. In the opinion of Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, the Philippine Assembly was doomed to signal failure. The Senator was opposed to America leaving the islands for his motto was "What we have, we hold; and where we are, we stay." James Bryce supported the grant of the Assembly as legitimate.⁴⁸

While the concession to the Filipinos found ardent supporters in the United States who believed that such a grant should be made as of right, the American people were furnished sufficient evidence to make them question the wisdom of the concession. First, the small number of voters who participated in the election aroused grave doubts as to whether the Filipinos had developed interest in public affairs. It gave rise to many comments on the ability of the Filipinos to govern themselves. Many Americans thought that the Filipinos did not yet understand even the elementary duties of citizenship. Manila, a city of 240,000 population and supposedly the most civilized portion of the whole archipelago, cast a meagre vote of 7,902 — 856 of which were American votes. It was supposed that the failure of many electors to provide themselves with cedula, or poll tax receipts, did much to reduce the registration, which was further reduced by the fact that the registration period was only four days.

⁴⁶ *The Cablenews-American*, March 28, 1907, p. 4, May 1, 1907, p. 4, May 21, 1907, p. 8, June 6, 1907, p. 1, June 7, 1907, p. 4, June 8, 1907, p. 4, June 20, 1907, p. 5, June 25, 1907, pp. 1, 5, July 30, 1907, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *The Cablenews-American*, June 19, 1907, p. 3, June 22, 1907, p. 4, June 25, 1907, p. 4, June 28, 1907, p. 4, July 3, 1907, p. 4.

⁴⁸ *The Cablenews-American*, June 1, 1907, pp. 1, 5, June 2, 1907, p. 3.

The second argument against the political grant was the election of Dr. Gomez. It was felt that this choice indicated poor judgment on the part of the electorate. His election was assailed in the United States, embittered many of the Filipinos' ardent supporters, and "dreadfully disappointed" the authorities at Washington, especially Mr. Taft who, in the face of opposition, had made every effort to have the Philippine Assembly provision adopted. The subject furnished a target for American editors who flayed the policy of the United States in the Philippines. It appeared that the Filipinos' strong hope for self-government counted for naught and further efforts to attain it would be futile. The Philippine Commission was not a little disappointed in the outcome of the election. When approached by some prominent Filipinos regarding the question of independence a commissioner said: "You have no more chance to secure independence in the near future than a snowball has to grow fat in hell."⁴⁹

It is difficult to explain why, in spite of his prison record, Dr. Gomez was elected to the Assembly. It is not charged that he secured the election by dishonest means. He was recognized as the most eloquent and convincing orator in the Islands and this asset alone counted for something among a people who have a special passion for oratory. Under no circumstances could it be asserted that the electorate approved of the conduct which sent him to prison. Dr. Gomez' case was an example of what popularity may do in the world of politics. He was also considered as a bold and patriotic man who defied injustice and wrong against his country. The common people, little informed of the seriousness of the charges against him, had a sort of reverence for Dr. Gomez as they would have for a hero. Partly because of the prevailing suspicion of the American rule, his fame seems to have worked a miracle in the mind of the electorate. The high tide of popularity sent Dr. Gomez to the Philippine Assembly, but by a vote of 40 to 35 he was unseated.⁵⁰

Upon the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, October

⁴⁹ *The Cablenews-American*, August 16, 1907, p. 4.

⁵⁰ *The Independent*, Vol. LXIV, p. 388.

16, 1907, public discussion of the situation was renewed. In the United States, gloomy forecasts for the Philippine lawmaking body became gloomier when it was learned that Mr. Root, Secretary of War, would rather see the Filipinos in full control of their municipal and provincial governments than to grant them the privilege of a legislative assembly. Some considered the concession premature, others approved it, and some believed that more could have been granted. At all events those who contended against the Assembly concentrated their argument on the election of Dr. Gomez.⁵¹

In the Philippines opposition and ridicule of the coming Assembly came from the American population while the opposing parties remained more or less silent though sometimes their satisfaction was over-shadowed by doubt. The American element thought that the Assembly would be the organ of insurrection in the Islands and they watched every step in the course of legislation. When Guerero introduced a bill permitting the inhabitants of the Philippines to bear arms, the American papers thought another insurrection was looming in the near horizon. *The Cablenews*, an American daily newspaper in Manila, printed the "Song of the Assembly", the chorus of which was as follows:

How'd you like to have the place?
 How'd you like to bear the mace?
 How'd you like to dodge about between the bolo and the kriss?
 How'd you like to see them gloat
 As they cut each other's throat?
 How'd you like to be the sergeant who will have to keep the peace?⁵²

In like manner the same paper made a version of Chapter XIX, verses 32, 41, of the Acts of the Apostles which describes the hopeless chaos in the congregation since some cried one thing and others cried another, but because their cries were not heeded, they sat down and remained quiet. The Philippine Assembly, it was claimed, would quarrel over the question of independence,

⁵¹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 224; Elliot's *The Philippines*, Vol. II, preface and p. 11; *The Independent*, Vol. LXIII, p. 354; *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXVII, pp. 363, 364, 879.

⁵² *The Cablenews-American*, September 6, 1907, p. 4.

but because the delegates could not secure an audience with the authorities in Washington they would ultimately restore order. The Protestant church would place evangelization first and political concession second.⁵³

To the Filipino people the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly was the crowning achievement of a century's struggle against the oppressive yoke of autocracy and injustice. The inauguration laid the corner stone of Filipino liberty. It was the reward of bitter tears and bloodshed at the hands of the executioner. Furthermore, the opening of the Assembly encouraged well directed effort and conscientious labor for complete freedom. It strengthened Filipino nationality to an extent which the people never experienced before. It was a liberal concession, the Filipino press acknowledged, and made the Filipino race a debtor to American statesmanship.⁵⁴ Sergio Osmeña, who has been the speaker of the lower house since 1907, commented on the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in the following words:

The inauguration of the Philippine Assembly marks an epoch in the history of dependencies and a new era in the history of the Philippines. The peace which preceded the inauguration was due to the expectation of the people to see this body instituted. The inauguration of the assembly abolished all opposition to the United States government and cleared off the prevalent doubt as to what really the United States policy was.⁵⁵

SPECIAL POWERS OF THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION

Upon the institution of the Philippine Assembly the United States Philippine Commission, which up to this time had been the entire legislative body, evolved into the upper house or Senate. Its organization was not affected in any way and it maintained the privilege of initiating measures, to the dissatisfaction of the Assembly. The three Filipinos in the Commission retained their seats among the five Americans but they had no

⁵³ *The Cablenews-American*, September 13, 1907, p. 4, October 10, 1907, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Editorial in *El Ideal* (Iloilo), quoted in the *Cablenews-American*, October 25, 1907, p. 3.

⁵⁵ *The Outlook*, Vol. LXXXVIII, p. 179.

executive portfolios. The Civil Governor was the chairman of the Commission but had no veto.

There were two things which the Assembly wished to overcome with respect to its relation with the Commission. First, the fact that the Commission, appointed by the President, could stand in the way of progress of the Filipino people. Furthermore, the Filipino members constituted a hopeless minority having no influence in the body by virtue of their more or less honorary office. To the Assembly the Commission was an obstruction, machinery set up beside it as a check on its authority. Undoubtedly this was the purpose of the retention of the Commission. Only one way to counteract this power was open: to secure a Filipino majority in the Commission.

It is not recorded what direct means were employed to secure the majority desired, but on May 11, 1908, scarcely one year after the election of the first delegates, Congress passed an act creating a new executive department and adding the fourth Filipino to the Commission. Gregorio Araneta, Attorney General of the Philippine Islands, was appointed Secretary of Finance and Justice and to fill the vacancy thus created in the Commission, Rafael Palma was selected. This act is of significance in that it marked the entrance of Filipinos into executive responsibility under the American rule. Thus there were four Filipinos and five Americans in the upper house. The Democratic victory in 1912 brought the fifth Filipino to the Commission. In 1913 President Wilson appointed Victorino Mapa to the Commission, giving it a membership of five Filipinos and four Americans. This number was retained until 1916.⁵⁶ With the Assembly composed of Filipinos and the Commission controlled by them, and with the Civil Governor without any veto power, the American control over legislation was reduced to practically nil. The Governor could exercise control by recommending the removal of Filipino Commissioners.

⁵⁶ *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1901, Vol. I, Pt. 1, pp. 63, 64, 1908, Vol. VIII, p. 5, 1914, Vol. III, p. 3. See Harrison's message to the Philippine Legislature, October 6, 1913, and the President's message to Congress, December 2, 1913.

The removal of exclusive power of the Philippine Commission to originate the budget constituted the second objective of the Assembly. Appropriation bills did not originate in the Assembly but in the American-Filipino Senate, appointed by the President of the United States. The organic law further provided that, in case of deadlock on the budget, the appropriations for the past year would, upon the recommendation of the Governor General,⁵⁷ be the budget for the ensuing year.

The other exclusive power conferred upon the Commission by the organic act was the jurisdiction over the non-Christian tribes which occupied about one-third of the area of the Philippines.

The effect of the fifth Filipino on the work of the Commission in 1913 was observed with interest. The new American members of the Commission did not arrive in Manila until the session had well started in its business. At this session the Commission proposed 103 bills, a number which had never been reached in previous years. The following statistics⁵⁸ show the work of the Assembly in conjunction with the American-Filipino Senate:

	1910 to 1911	1911 to 1912	1912 to 1913	1913 to 1914
Bills introduced in the Commission.....	63	69	71	103
Bills passed by the Commission.....	48	52	61	69
Commission bills enacted by the Legislature	17	17	18	50
Bills introduced in the Assembly.....	484	518	421	398
Bills passed by the Assembly.....	98	181	131	169
Assembly bills enacted by the Legislature..	33	69	51	51
Per cent of Commission bills enacted by the Legislature	35	25	30	72
Per cent of Assembly bills enacted by the Legislature	34	38	39	30
Per cent of total number of bills passed by either house enacted by the Legislature..	34	37	36	42

It appears that the addition of the fifth Filipino to the Commission stimulated harmony and coöperation between the two

⁵⁷ The Cooper Act of 1905 changed the title of the Civil Governor to Governor General.

⁵⁸ Speeches of Manuel Quezon in the House of Representatives, September 26 to October 14, 1914.

houses as evidenced by the Commission bills which the Assembly approved. This was 72 per cent of the Commission bills as against 35, 25, and 30 per cent in previous years. More than that the deadlock on the budget which the Legislature experienced during the three years preceding the appointment of the fifth Filipino has been overcome. The unfortunate discord due to the failure to pass the annual appropriation bill has been supplanted by a spirit of coöperation.

THE WORK OF THE PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY

Amidst discouraging predictions that it would fail, the first Philippine Assembly met on October 16, 1907, to enter upon its most exacting task. On that day the Philippine Legislature passed a joint resolution expressing to the President of the United States the "profound sentiments of gratitude and high appreciation of the signal concession made to the people of the islands of participating directly in the making of the laws which shall govern them."⁵⁹

Those who ridiculed the Philippine Assembly and made gloomy forecasts of its future found disappointment in the initial results. During the inaugural session and the special session which extended from October 16, 1907, to August 22, 1908, seventy-eight laws were enacted. Eight of these concerned the non-Christian tribes and were, therefore, the exclusive enactments of the Commission.⁶⁰ As far as volume of legislation is concerned the Philippine Assembly did not come up to what might have been expected. But it should be borne in mind that the Philippine Commission had been legislating since 1901, having passed 1800 laws. Furthermore, the Civil Code, the Penal Code, and the Commercial Code of Spain were retained in force, thus saving the Assembly an enormous task of legislation.

The legislation of this session reveals some features which cast a favorable light upon the much doubted delegates. The first act passed was an appropriation of 1,000,000 pesos for the con-

⁵⁹ *Official Gazette*, November 6, 1907, p. 778.

⁶⁰ Acts No. 1808, 1816, 1817, 1822, 1823, 1876, 1877, 1878, of the United States Philippine Commission.

struction of schools in rural districts.⁶¹ This act was followed by another providing "for popular civico-educational lectures in the municipalities and principally in the barrios of the Philippine Islands." The Director of Education was to supervise these lectures which were to deal with "the rights and duties of a citizen, the Municipal Code and the Provincial Government Act, the organization of the central government, of knowledge or popular notions of certain common crimes and of any laws which are important in the judgment of the Director of Education, as well as of industry and commerce, especially the mining industry, manufacturing, and the breeding and care of stock, and the care and irrigation of plants and trees; and in addition, of a varied knowledge of geography and history."⁶²

For the better instruction of municipal teachers, the legislature appropriated 25,000 pesos. The teachers were to be selected from all over the country to attend the special classes in Manila. One act set aside 75,000 pesos for the compensation of teachers in barrio schools.⁶³ The general appropriation for 1908 allowed 3,000,000 pesos for the Bureau of Education and 145,000 pesos for the Philippine Medical School.⁶⁴ In harmony with the law extending public schools into rural districts, the Governor General was authorized to convey insular property to provinces and municipalities to be used for public school purposes.⁶⁵ For the general education of the public the Legislature created the Philippine Public Library for which the sum of 4,000 pesos was set aside.⁶⁶ A bill framed and introduced by the Secretary of Public Instruction provided for the establishment of the University of the Philippines. It passed the Assembly without amendment and on June 18, 1908, the university was inaugurated, modeled after the American plan.⁶⁷ Thus, of the seventy-

⁶¹ Act No. 1801 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁶² Act No. 1829, Sec. 3, of the Philippine Legislature.

⁶³ Acts No. 1857, 1866 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁶⁴ Act No. 1873 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁶⁵ Act No. 1813 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁶⁶ Act No. 1849 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁶⁷ Act No. 1870 of the Philippine Legislature.

eight laws which the legislature had passed, eight concerned public education. It is a notable feature of the legislation which speaks for itself.

Another special feature of the legislation was the act which created the Agricultural Bank of the Philippines, for which the sum of 1,000,000 pesos was appropriated. While the bank received deposits from all sources, its loans must be confined to the development of agriculture. Hence no loan could be made but to persons engaged in agricultural pursuits.⁶⁸ For the extension of irrigation systems an annual sum of 750,000 pesos was set aside. In order to prevent the recurring epidemics which took away so many of the draft animals, the Legislature appropriated the sum of 100,000 pesos. The sum of 150,000 pesos was set aside for the purchase of land for quarantine purposes.⁶⁹

There were other acts which concerned public improvements, such as granting franchises to public utilities. The Employers' Liability Act passed in this session proves that modern methods of handling industrial problems had been adopted. The act applied to all workers, except agricultural and domestic employees, and gave them the right to sue a negligent employer for damages not to exceed 2,500 pesos.⁷⁰

Aside from the bitter fight on the removal of Dr. Gomez, no significant debates which delayed legislative action took place. The act raising the per diem salary of the delegates to thirty pesos⁷¹ aroused some opposition. Another act which met considerable opposition was that which appropriated \$17,000 for the salary and expenses of a delegate to the International Conference on Navigation at St. Petersburg. The opposition was based on the assertion that the delegate could not reach the city in time.⁷²

The signal success of the Legislature was a stimulus to foreign interests in the Philippines. About this time commercial organ-

⁶⁸ Act No. 1865 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁶⁹ Acts No. 1827, 1854, 1855, of the Philippine Legislature.

⁷⁰ Act No. 1874 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁷¹ Act No. 1803 of the Philippine Legislature.

⁷² Act No. 1820 of the Philippine Legislature.

izations in Manila, of which the Manila Merchants' Association was the principal, commissioned Mrs. Martin Egan to visit the United States to advertise the commercial and industrial prospects of the Philippines in particular, and in general to help the American people realize what was being done in the Philippines. Mrs. Egan took with her letters from Americans and Filipinos engaged in business in the Philippines. President Roosevelt endorsed all the articles and the purposes of the mission.⁷³

RESIDENT COMMISSIONERS IN WASHINGTON

The organic act of July 1, 1902, provides that at the first meeting of the Legislature and every two years⁷⁴ thereafter there shall be chosen two commissioners to the United States, each house voting separately. These delegates are entitled to the same privileges in the United States Congress as the members of the House of Representatives except the privilege of voting. They are to be the spokesmen on matters which pertain to their country. The commissioners must be bona fide electors, owing allegiance to the United States, at least 30 years of age, and able to speak, read, and write the English language.⁷⁵

The choice of resident commissioners became a matter of controversy and much concern, especially from the standpoint of the Nacionalista Party which desired to sustain its platform in the United States. The party, it should be remembered, advocates immediate independence and it believed that the choice of the right delegate spelled success in Washington. While it was in power in the legislative assembly and claiming leadership because the speaker was a Nacionalista the independence boosters in the Assembly saw an impediment in the Commission, at that time composed of five Americans and three fair-minded Filipinos who displayed little enthusiasm for immediate independence. The first concern was, therefore, the manner of appointment.

⁷³ *The Outlook*, Vol. XC, p. 450.

⁷⁴ Changed to three years.—*United States Compiled Statutes*, 1918, Sec. 3815.

⁷⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXII, Pt. 1, p. 694.

In accordance with the provisions of the joint resolution adopted on November 22, 1907, each house chose a delegate, the choice of each being subject to the approval of the other. The election resulted in the appointment of Benito Legarda, a National Progressive selected by the Philippine Commission from among its number, and Pablo Ocampo, a Nacionalista and choice of the Philippine Assembly.⁷⁶

While the function of these commissioners is to give such information as Congress may desire from time to time for wise and constructive legislation on the Islands, the exercise of their duties has been subjected to political pressure from home. The average citizen at home and in the United States knows the Resident Commissioners as agents for Philippine independence. The enthusiasm and patriotic demonstration staged in their honor upon their return to the Islands is a measure of their success in promoting this program.

SURVEY OF THE FIRST NINE YEARS

Under the most trying conditions which the United States ever experienced the first nine years have done wonders in the Philippines. The improvement during this period astonished the whole world. Men trained in colonial administration were wanting and those who dared the vast Pacific were often impelled by the mere spirit of adventure. The novel task was made doubly difficult by the factors which held foreign capital aloof from the Philippines. The early agitation for independence made the conditions unstable and capital was lacking for developing the unexplored Philippines. Congress failed to open the United States markets to Philippine products and this alone placed the production below normal. The country had been swept by epidemics which carried thousands to early graves, the rinderpest of 1907 claimed eighty per cent of the draft animals, and in addition the locusts destroyed a large part of the crops of the year. All these made for the retardation of national development.

⁷⁶ *Official Gazette*, December 11, 1907, p. 1068; *Annual Reports of the War Department*, 1908, Vol. VII, p. 8; *The Independent*, Vol. LXIV, p. 358.

From an economic standpoint the Filipinos were unprepared to receive the liberal concession of 1907.

Hardly had the smoke from the fields of battle cleared the skies and the thundering echoes from Dewey's fleet subsided when public schools rose one after another as if in perfect peace. With a Springfield in one hand the United States army quelled seething rebellions; and with a book in the other it gave instruction to the thousands of Filipinos of all ages and walks of life who had come within the reach of the willing and faithful soldier tutors. From among the people who armed themselves against the sovereignty of the United States an efficient force of the Philippines constabulary was organized which enforced peace and order. By the good will of the senior army officers, civil government supplanted military authority in towns occupied by the troops. Popular elections had been introduced in municipalities long before a suggestion of a Philippine Assembly was ever heard. The provinces came to enjoy practically a popular system of government. Of the three executive officials in the province, two were popularly elected, and the third was appointed under the civil service rules. An honest and efficient civil service system has saved the country from the malignant practice of political buccaneering; and an impartial judiciary has eliminated all the unnecessary delay and unjust procedure of the past centuries. In order that proper and intelligent laws might be passed a census was taken. The benefit of free and public education was extended to the rich and the poor alike. Moreover, early in 1902 the policy of sending Filipino young men to the United States was inaugurated in order that they might enjoy the benefits of American institutions, then return to their country and cooperate in its development and improvement. Believing in the superimportance of transportation and communication, the construction of modern first class roads and bridges was much emphasized. Remote parts of the archipelago were made neighbors by steamship and telegraph lines which spanned the Islands. One hundred and seventeen lighthouses and one hundred and seven buoys unfailingly guided the sailors to roads of safety. To encourage railroad construction the

Philippine government granted a concession for 750 miles of railroad with guarantee of interest on bonds issued for this purpose. The purchase of the friar lands put an end, once for all, to one of the difficulties which had menaced the country for centuries. The public domain was opened to the inhabitants for settlement with the opportunity of acquiring land at a low cost. Perfect titles eliminated disputes over possession of lands due to faulty documents. A postal system was established.

There were, likewise, many innovations for safe-guarding public health. The unfortunate lepers were segregated and isolated under the liberal direction of the government. Government laboratories were established to study tropical diseases and to manufacture serums and vaccines.

The mediaeval city of Manila of 1898 became the metropolis of the Orient in 1907. Three million dollars were expended for its harbors to say nothing of the \$800,000 for the ports of Cebu and Iloilo. The Bridge of Spain was broadened and, in addition, two steel bridges rose over the Pasig River. An efficient fire department equipped with modern apparatus supplanted the antiquated bucket system.

Above all these, marking an era in the history of the Filipino nation, is the guarantee of freedom of speech and liberty of the press on condition that neither shall be used to incite disturbance. Freedom of worship and the right to assemble peaceably and petition for redress have crowned the life of the Filipino race. But for these, the Filipinos would not have ceased making immediate demands.

A just system of taxation in which each person carried his own burden irrespective of his station in life replaced the annoying system of taxation hedged about by discriminations which oppressed the poor.⁷⁷

These are some of the results which the first nine years of American régime have wrought in the Philippines. Unprecedented in history and amidst discouraging predictions from those who pretended to know what perils tomorrow would surely

⁷⁷ See Governor Smith's *Message to the First Philippine Legislature* in the *Cablenews-American*, October 18, 1907, p. 11.

bring, the sons of liberty and justice braved the uncharted path in colonial administration and in nine short years established a system of government for which other nations had struggled for hundreds of years and for which many a dependency has vainly struggled since time immemorial. The magnanimity shocked the conservatives in America and astonished the whole world. These nine years saw the birth of a representative government — of democracy — in the Far East, instituted under a foreign flag, and destined to take deep roots in the Philippines. It gave the Filipino nation the right to initiate laws, to modify or defeat measures which the American Commission might propose. By means of the Assembly, the people and the executive were brought into closer relationship.

This miraculous progress has been attained in such a short period not only from American altruism and unequalled generosity, but also because the Filipino nation has proved good material to work upon. At the time of the institution of the popular assembly Filipinos had already filled responsible positions. Three Filipinos were members of the Philippine Commission when the Assembly was inaugurated. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court has always been a Filipino. Two associate justices in this court were Filipinos. The Attorney General was a Filipino, and all the fiscals or prosecuting attorneys outside of Manila were Filipinos. Nine judges of the Courts of First Instance, to say nothing of all the justices of the peace, were Filipinos. Provincial secretaries were all Filipinos as were the thousands of minor officials in every branch of civil service.⁷⁸ Unqualified willingness to coöperate coupled with a feeling of self-confidence and a willingness to assume responsibility were qualities which the Americans found in the Filipino people.

THE JONES LAW

After the passage of the organic act which established the Philippine Assembly, the Philippines ceased to be a political issue in the United States. The Democrats and the Republicans

⁷⁸ Ide's *The Philippine Assembly in The Independent*, Vol. LXIII, p. 599.

found a common ground in the extension of self-government to the Filipinos, but one would extend it sooner than the other. As Secretary Garrison said, the Philippines have become a moral issue rather than a political one. In the Philippines, the question of independence resulted in the birth of the Nacionalista Party and the Nacional Progresista Party. One desires immediate release from the United States, allowing the Philippines to assume a complete independence, while the other, desiring the same end, favors a period of tutelage and training before assuming such independent political life. The election of delegates to the Philippine Assembly in 1907 centered on this vital problem, and on this issue of immediate independence the Nacionalista Party has maintained control in the Philippine Legislature down to the present time. The speaker of the lower house, Sergio Osmeña, is a champion of immediate independence for the Philippines, and so is the Resident Commissioner, Manuel L. Quezon, now the president of the Philippine Senate, who put forth his best efforts at Washington to secure the release of the Islands. It is fair to say that most of the Congressional legislation further extending popular government to the Filipinos is the fruit of the labors of these two leaders — leaders of their party in particular and of the Filipino people in general. It follows, therefore, that the extension of self-government to the Filipinos has always been connected with the movement for Philippine independence.

Previous to the enactment of the Jones Law the question of granting the Philippines their independence had been suggested in Congress in the form of resolutions and other acts. Various resolutions⁷⁹ and bills were introduced which had for their object the independence of the Philippines. A resolution introduced in the House of Representatives on December 2, 1912, authorized the President to open negotiations with the governments of Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, China,

⁷⁹ Resolutions to neutralize the Philippines: Senate Joint Resolution No. 54, December 16, 1915; House Joint Resolution, No. 22, December 6, 1915; House Joint Resolution, No. 74, December 17, 1915; House Concurrent Resolution, No. 3, December 6, 1915.

and other countries to recognize the neutrality of the Philippine Islands in case the United States should establish an independent government in the Islands.⁸⁰ In the House of Representatives, Mr. Jones of Virginia was the champion of Philippine independence. In 1912 he introduced a bill providing for qualified independence for eight years after July 4, 1913, and complete independence after July 4, 1921.⁸¹ The bill failed in the House. In 1914 Mr. Jones presented another bill. It made no provision for a definite date when the United States should withdraw from the Philippines, but its preamble speaks of "the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein." To attain this end, the bill continues, the powers of government must be extended to the Filipinos as rapidly as possible in order that they may learn the lessons by actual experience. This bill passed the House on October 14, 1914, but was never acted upon by the Senate. The Philippine Legislature expressed its appreciation to the House of Representatives for acting upon the bill and urged the President and the Senate to support the bill.⁸²

The history of the law which is now the organic act of the Philippines is of singular interest, for the amendments which were adopted in the Senate gave the Filipino people a surprise. Having passed the House of Representatives, the bill was forwarded to the Senate for action. The Senate committee reported the bill practically rewritten with some important changes.

The two principal amendments were the Gronna⁸³ and the Clarke⁸⁴ amendments. The Gronna amendment prohibited the manufacture for sale or importation of intoxicants in the Philip-

⁸⁰ Robertson's *The Effect in the Philippines of the Senate "Organic Act"* in the *Journal of Race Development*, April, 1916, p. 372.

⁸¹ House Resolution No. 22,143, 62nd Congress, 2nd Session.

⁸² *House Documents*, 63rd Congress, 3rd Session, Document No. 1350, p. 1.

⁸³ Senate Bill No. 381, 64th Congress, 1st Session (December 10, 1915).

⁸⁴ Senate Bill No. 381, 64th Congress, 1st Session (January 24, 1916). See also the Hitchcock amendment to the Clarke amendment which Mr. Hitchcock introduced on January 29, 1916.

pines. The argument against this measure was the loss of revenues to the government, and furthermore it was considered unnecessary in a country like the Philippines where the people do not indulge in drinking. The Clarke amendment authorized the President to recognize the independence of the Philippines within from two to four years. The bill passed the Senate by the deciding vote of the president on February 4, 1916, and was then returned to the House where a strong opposition was manifested against the amendments, principally the Clarke amendment. After repeated amendments in the committee it again passed the House on May 1, 1916, with the famous amendments stricken out. In transmitting it to the Senate, the House urged a joint conference and on August 29, 1916, the Jones Bill, which was first introduced in 1914, was enacted into law with the Clarke amendment included and became the organic act of the Philippine Islands. It gave the Filipino people a popular legislature of two houses.

POPULAR LEGISLATURE

For nine years the Philippine Legislature was composed of a Filipino Assembly elected by the people and an American-Filipino Senate appointed by the President of the United States. This Senate which was also the United States Philippine Commission exercised exclusive jurisdiction over the non-Christian peoples of the Islands, and for this reason these tribes were not represented in the Philippine Assembly. The Commission had also exclusive power in originating appropriation bills. Passage of laws was determined by a majority vote in both houses, the Governor General having no veto power over legislative bills. It has already been pointed out that under this plan three successive deadlocks occurred in 1910-1913 on appropriation bills, and these might have continued had not President Wilson appointed the fifth Filipino to the Commission, and so secured a Filipino majority in the Senate. Harmony and coöperation seemed most difficult to secure and a new piece of legislation became imperative.

On August 29, 1916, nine years after the inauguration of the

Philippine Assembly, the Jones Act supplanted the organic act of July 1, 1902. It granted the Filipinos more extensive participation in their government and put an end to all the administrative and legislative discords which retarded the progress of the Philippines.

The legislative changes which the new law made placed the Philippine Legislature on the same plane as that of the United States. "General legislative powers in the Philippines, except as herein otherwise provided" were conferred on the "Philippine Legislature" which is composed of a Senate and the House of Representatives, both elected by the people. The United States placed under the control and administration of the Philippine government all the property and all the rights acquired from Spain under the terms of the Treaty of Paris and all other lands subsequently acquired by purchase except land and property which the President had designated for military or other purposes of the United States. The Philippine Legislature was given full powers to enact laws for the welfare of the inhabitants, but acts affecting the public domain, timber, and mining must first be approved by the President of the United States before they become laws.⁸⁵

The two houses of the Philippine Legislature are composed of Filipinos elected by the voters except the Representatives and Senators who represent the non-Christian tribes. These are appointed by the Governor General and hold their office until removed by him. The House of Representatives is composed of ninety members, an increase of nine over the former number. The nine new members are appointed by the Governor General to represent the non-Christian peoples. Elective members of the House hold office for three years.⁸⁶

The Philippines were divided into twelve senatorial districts each of which elects two Senators, except the twelfth district.

⁸⁵ Senate Bill No. 381, 64th Congress, 1st Session, in the House of Representatives, February 8, 1916, Report No. 499; *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Secs. 9, 12.

⁸⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Secs. 14, 16.

For this district, which is composed of The Mountain Province, Baguio, Nueva Ecija, and the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, the Governor General appoints two Senators who hold office during his pleasure. The other twenty Senators hold office for six years. In the first election in 1916, each senatorial district elected one Senator for three years and one for six years.

But for the appointive Senators and Representatives, the Philippine Legislature would have been thoroughly popular. In place of the three common divisions — Christian, non-Christians, and Moros — the Philippines consist of ninety representative districts and twelve senatorial districts. The Legislature has now full control of the suffrage. The Philippine Commission continued to operate until January 1, 1917, when the act re-organizing the executive departments took effect. The Governor General ceased to be the chairman of the Commission which is now dissolved.

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE LEGISLATIVE MEMBERS

A candidate for the Senate must be a qualified elector in the Philippines, over thirty years of age, and must be able to read and write Spanish or English. He must have resided in the Philippines for at least two years and been for one year immediately preceding the election an actual resident of his district.

A candidate for the House of Representatives must be over twenty-five years of age, able to read and write English or Spanish, and must be a qualified elector. He must have resided in the district at least one year immediately preceding the election.

Appointments of the Senators and Representatives for the non-Christian tribes are made "without the consent of the senate and without restriction as to residence."⁸⁷

GOVERNOR'S VETO POWER

Previous to the adoption of the Jones Law the Governor General had never had the veto power over legislative enactments. As Civil Governor from July 4, 1901, to the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly, the chief executive was the chairman of

⁸⁷ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Secs. 13, 14, 16.

the United States Philippine Commission in its dual capacity both as an executive board and as one of the legislative branches of the government. When the Philippine Assembly was instituted bills were enacted by majority vote of both houses.

The Jones Law placed the Governor General on practically the same basis with respect to the Philippine Legislature as the President of the United States is with respect to Congress. All bills and joint resolutions passed by both houses shall, before they become law, be presented to the Governor General for approval. A period of twenty days is allowed the Governor to act upon the bills presented to him and failure to act within the prescribed time will automatically validate the bills as if he had signed them. A two-thirds vote in both houses passes a bill over the Governor's veto. When such happens the Governor General may either approve it or reject it. If he rejects it he shall transmit the same to the President of the United States for the last recourse. The President is allowed six months in which to act. If he fails to veto the bill within that time it becomes a law.

The Governor General has the veto power over any item or items of the appropriation but such veto shall not affect other items. If the Legislature fails to pass the appropriation for the fiscal year, the items of the last appropriation shall as far as practicable be deemed appropriated until the Legislature passes a new budget. This provision has never been used. Congress reserves the power to annul all laws enacted by the Philippine Legislature.⁸⁸

EXTENSION OF SUFFRAGE

Of no little importance to the political education of the Filipino people is the provision of the Jones Act extending the right of suffrage to those who read and write a native dialect. The franchise was conferred on all male citizens twenty-one years of age, who have been residents of the Philippines for one year, and in the municipality six months preceding the election, and belonged to one of the following classes: those who are legal voters under the existing law, those who own real property to

⁸⁸ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Sec. 19.

the value of 500 pesos, and those who read and write Spanish, English, or a native dialect. Under the old law suffrage was enjoyed by 250,000 voters; under the new law the electorate was enlarged to over 750,000.⁵⁹

This is the result of the eighteen years of tutelage under the American rule. On October 16, 1916, in the same place where sixteen years ago the civil government received the responsibility from the military authorities, Governor General Harrison delivered his message to the Fourth Philippine Legislature — the all-Filipino legislature elected by popular vote. It is the first truly representative ruling body ever assembled in the Philippines. Among the eighty-one elected Representatives sat the nine Representatives of the non-Christians; and among the twenty elected Senators sat the two appointees of the Governor to represent the non-Christians. In recognition of the privilege extended to them, the mountain peoples of Luzon and the Moros in the south sent their delegations to attend the inauguration of the purely Filipino Legislature.

The transformation which the Jones Act has brought about carries with it grave significance. By this act, the United States surrendered in good faith to the Filipino people its all important check upon its territorial possession. On the part of the United States, the law is the highest recognition of trust and confidence in the ability of the Filipino people to govern themselves. To the Filipinos it means untold opportunity for advancement on the one hand and the gravest responsibility on the other. Representative government in the Far East ceased to be a half measure as it was from 1907 to 1916. The day on which the act was passed saw the birth of a truly representative form of government among the millions of Filipinos who have been struggling for the coveted ideal. By it the Philippines have linked the East and the West. It is true that Cuba had been only three years under the United States when self-government was granted to her, but

⁵⁹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Sec. 15; *Future Political Status of the People of the Philippine Islands*, Senate Report No. 18, 64th Congress, 1st Session, December 17, 1915, pp. 2, 3.

that self-government was under a protectorate. Great Britain extended the franchise to the Boers before the smoke over the battle fields had subsided, but these people had been self-governing for fifty years.

On August 29, 1916, there rose in the fortunate Philippines the eternal torch of liberty and justice to shed its beneficent radiance not only on the Filipinos alone but also on the down-trodden Koreans, the struggling Irish and Polish, oppressed India, Indo-China, and Egypt where the day of freedom has scarcely dawned.

III

THE EFFECT OF THE CLARKE AMENDMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES

At the time of the debate over the Jones Bill it was no longer a question whether the Filipinos were entitled to a wider participation in their government. To grant this privilege was recognized as the only certain way of training the Filipinos in the art of modern government and the concession was considered indispensable if the United States is to withdraw from the Islands sometime in the future. The organic act of July 1, 1902, had outlived its usefulness. A new piece of legislation, more liberal and more far reaching, became imperative. Congress realized this fact and put forth every effort in formulating the most suitable law possible. But was the time ripe for making a definite provision for the independence of the Philippines? To Senator Clarke, conditions warranted the provision, for in the Jones Bill he inserted his famous amendment providing for the recognition of Philippine independence in not less than two years nor more than four years at the discretion of the President.

Flashed across the waters to Manila, the famous Clarke amendment placed the Filipino people in the most critical position in their history. The suddenness with which independence appeared, says a press report, "stunned most people and . . . rendered them incapable of coherent conclusions and sane speculations".⁹⁰ "Manila has been shot to pieces this week", asserts the *Free Press* in its editorial on "The Jones Bill and Those Sensational Amendments." "The most radical . . . is that of Senator Clarke of Arkansas, a democrat and president pro tempore of the senate."⁹¹ "On the part of the Assembly, however,

⁹⁰ *Philippines Free Press*, January 29, 1916, p. 11.

⁹¹ *Philippines Free Press*, January 22, 1916, p. 8.

and all political leaders, without regard to party, there appears to be enthusiasm and jubilation," but as the comment tells us, it is because the United States pledged itself to protect the islands and secure their neutrality.⁹² As if foreseeing the fate of the Filipinos the *Free Press* of January 29, 1916, published a cartoon entitled, "Giving Jonah to the Whale", in which Uncle Sam and Congress were represented as picking up Jonah (Philippines) to throw to the whale (Japan).⁹³

Most of the Filipino papers, being organs of some party or other, made political capital of the issue. In all their comments, however, indications of fear and doubts were mingled with the loud praises for the party responsible for the achievement. According to *El Ideal* the Clarke amendment was in accordance with the policy that territories which menace the peace of the United States must be gotten rid of. However, it advised the citizens that they "be armed with prudence and must realize the great responsibility rests on their shoulders".⁹⁴ The *Consolidacion Nacional* was not reserved in lauding the success of the Nacionalista Party, glorifying Speaker Osmeña to the skies.⁹⁵ Like *El Ideal*, *La Vanguardia* praised the United States for its courage in facing probable complications with Japan, but strongly hoped that the powers would join in neutralizing the Islands. Seemingly half assured, the paper said that the Filipino people were, more than ever before, prepared to meet the consequences, and "with the aid of God and men of good will" they would maintain "a free government."⁹⁶ *La Democracia*, in its conservatism, entertained much apprehension, and advocated that if the Filipinos did not want independence Congress must be so informed.⁹⁷

⁹² *Philippines Free Press*, January 29, 1916, p. 11.

⁹³ *Philippines Free Press*, January 29, 1916, p. 1.

⁹⁴ Quoted in the *Philippines Free Press*, January 29, 1916, p. 17, February 12, 1916, p. 17.

⁹⁵ Quoted in the *Philippines Free Press*, January 17, 1916, p. 17.

⁹⁶ Quoted in the *Philippines Free Press*, January 29, 1916, p. 17, February 12, 1916, p. 17.

⁹⁷ Quoted in the *Philippines Free Press*, February 12, 1916, p. 17.

The passage of the Jones Bill with the Clarke amendment in the Senate on February 4, 1916, brought forth the following editorial in the *Philippines Free Press*:

Pain often carries with it a certain anesthesia, and, in the presence of great events, a certain numbness of the faculties, an inability to grasp the full significance of what is transpiring, frequently follows.

So is it to-day with the pregnant news which is coming over the wires from Washington. Independence heretofore little more than a vociferously expressed national aspiration, and, on occasion, a mere party shibbolith, seems now to be standing on the very threshold of the real, the actual, and to be about to assume definite shape and form. But, in its imminent presence, we are dazed and confounded, and find it almost impossible to visualize the circumstances it will create and to make tangible to our mind the train of consequences which will follow. As a result, the air is full of wild speculations and impossible conjectures, and the very foundations appear to be shifting beneath our feet. . . . a deadly chill . . . seems to be passing over our business men at present as a result of the Jones bill.⁹⁸

It seems that the jubilee which came in consequence of the passage of the Jones Bill with the Clarke amendment in the Senate was confined to politicians. *The Daily Bulletin*, an American paper in Manila, observed that it appeared as if nothing out of the ordinary had happened. Parades and pompous demonstrations were wanting. The editorial of the *Cablenews-American* which referred to the recent parade of the American troops in Manila, was sad in tone. The paper said that that would be the last time the troops appeared until they embarked for the homeland.⁹⁹

It was reported that when the Clarke amendment was pending in the Senate the Philippine Assembly cabled to Congress urging the passage of the bill. Governor General Harrison is said to have unreservedly endorsed the bill. Mr. Osmeña, the speaker of the Assembly, said on one occasion:

Determined to become independent, our duty in these moments is not compatible with any vacillation on our part. We should continue the campaign to the final approval of the Jones bill, and the establishment in

⁹⁸ *Philippines Free Press*, February 12, 1916, p. 14.

⁹⁹ *Philippines Free Press*, February 12, 1916, p. 17, March 11, 1916, p. 17.

proper time, of those conditions which make of Philippine independence a permanent and general good. There is no reason for alarm. On the contrary, we can and we should look to the future with calm and confident hope.¹⁰⁰

Interviews with other prominent men showed that guaranteed independence, neutralization, or a protectorate were preferred to absolute independence. Vicente Singson Encarnacion, now in the Philippine Senate, and Juan Villamor, Governor of Ilocos Sur, preferred guaranteed independence. Mr. Villamor said, "I do not think there is a Filipino who would not prefer a guaranteed independence. . . . During the first years of our life, we will undoubtedly need some one or something to shield us against external aggression." In like manner Evaristo Francisco, a ship-owner and business man, would have guaranteed independence for his first choice or an autonomy like that of Canada or Australia for his second choice.¹⁰¹

The Clarke amendment stimulated an intelligent reaction among the younger generation of the Filipino people, trained in the Philippine public schools and in the universities of America. Because of the training the logic of their reasoning, and their non-partisanship, the timely comments of some of these younger Filipinos on the national issue merit a special notice.

The first of these comments, by a young man from Bacolod, Occidental Negros, who signed a *nom de plume* of Nezar, read in part as follows:

I am not the son of a prophet, but I predict that if our political independence is granted it may benefit the hungry office seekers for a short time, but it will bring a deluge of tears for the common people and ulti-

¹⁰⁰ The Spanish of this quotation is as follows: "Determinados a ser independientes, nuestro deber en estos momentos no es compatible con ninguna vacilacion de nuestro parte. Debemos proseguir la campana hasta la aprobacion final del bill Jones, y el establecimiento, a su debido tiempo, de aquellas condiciones que hagan la independencia filipina un bien general y permanente. No hay ningun motivo actual de alarma. Por el contrario podemos y debemos mirar el porvenir con serenidad y confiada esperenza." — *Philippines Free Press*, February 19, 1916, p. 24; House Report No. 499, 64th Congress, 1st Session, April 6, 1916, pp. 17, 18.

¹⁰¹ *Philippines Free Press*, March 11, 1916, p. 20.

mately worse than tears for the politicians. I am afraid that behind the mask of patriotism of too many of our politicians there lie selfish designs. . . . The hope commonly entertained that independence would bring redemption would vanish at the sight of political chaos. Neither the Jones bill nor a hundred of Jones bills will bring us real independence which makes for the happiness of the mass of the people. . . . When the right time comes and the Filipinos are prosperous and further advanced in civilization, there will be no trouble in securing our independence, and America would be only too willing to give it. The dreams of too many of our politicians is the dream of a Caesar . . . but from such a dream there will be a terrible awakening and we shall repent in sackcloth and ashes.¹⁰²

In contrast to the gloomy forecasts of this article, a young Filipino girl expressed "hope — 'for the best,'" and unwavering faith. In reply to the article just cited the young woman said:

I am no daughter of a politician, nor an ardent advocate of Philippine Independence, but, being a native of the islands, most decidedly I am not an indifferent onlooker. Therefore I contend against the spirit of that prophecy. I can tolerate a foreigner declaiming over the woes that Independence would bring to the Islands, but a countryman — never. Let their's be to predict, ours to hope, even against hope, — "for the best". The world may smile grimly or pityingly at our most absurd dreams and impossible hopes; but they are better by far to cherish than dire prophecies and woeful fears. So, please, do not have a voice "sad and prophetic," but rather "watch and pray", and firmly believe that the righteous are never forsaken. With eyes of hope, born out of faith, I, for one, do not see or fear "political chaos"; but, above and beyond the troubles that be, a better, greater and happier Philippines.¹⁰³

At this time Mr. Luis Rivera, a product of American universities, wrote a thoughtful article entitled "A Problem of Life and Death". He expresses fear of eternal colonization by Japan; and rather than risk exploitation by a foreign power, advised that the Filipinos remain content with the present peace and prosperity under the United States.¹⁰⁴

Bienvenido Tan struck the keynote of the younger generation

¹⁰² *Philippines Free Press*, February 5, 1916.

¹⁰³ *Philippines Free Press*, February 26, 1916, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ *Philippines Free Press*, February 19, 1916, pp. 15, 24.

which he represents when he delivered a speech during his campaign for election to the Municipal Board of Manila. Mr. Tan is a young man 25 years of age, and was educated in the Philippine public schools. Speaking of the Jones Bill with the Clarke amendment the young lawyer said:

I have observed that most of the people do not understand the real situation in regard to the Jones bill. The politicians of the "old school" tell the people, either intentionally or from ignorance, only about the advantages to be gotten from the Jones bill but not the responsibilities that go with it. They tell the people that with the Jones bill we shall be a free people, have less taxation, and no worry for anything. Some of the people believe that with independence taxes will be abolished. . . . I explained to them that just the contrary will happen—that taxes will be doubled; for the expenses then will be greater. . . .

. . . . I am going to tell the people the real truth, the hard cold bitter truth, no matter what happens. I am not afraid. I have observed that if you will express an opinion contrary to independence you will be branded as unpatriotic and a traitor to the legitimate aspirations of the people. If to tell the truth I am unpatriotic, then I am unpatriotic, and dare to be so. . . .

We may be branded as radicals, idealists and inexperienced callow youths; but we believe we understand what we are doing, and we are ready to put our ideas to the test.¹⁰⁵

A very sane appeal to the Filipino politicians is found in an article entitled "An Appeal to Intelligent Patriotism", by Jose L. Jalandoni. Mr. Jalandoni is a product of one of the largest universities in the United States and is now a successful young farmer. He said in part:

There are times when almost every one of us except the greedy beneficiaries becomes tired of politics, and politicians have taken advantage of this fact to seduce the more ignorant people for their own benefit. But times such as these are not for petty politics. The intelligent citizens who heretofore have not taken an active part in politics should come ahead and lead the people and show them clearly that they must either live or die in accordance with their decisions. . . .

I am not opposed to independence, but I believe that ample time should be allowed us, so that we can devote all our efforts and energies to the development of the vast agricultural resources of our country. . . . I am not questioning the capability of our people to conduct an efficient

¹⁰⁵ *Philippines Free Press*, March 11, 1916, p. 13.

government of our own, but I believe, and I know that there is a considerable number of patriotic Filipinos who believe with me, that such a measure, because of probable foreign aggressions, will endanger the lives, liberties and properties in this country. Why, then, shall be put our very existence in jeopardy such as it will be at the will of the President? . . . Let us urge the passage of the Jones bill but protest with all our might against the Clarke amendment. . . . let us see clearly the issue before us. Are you ready to exchange our present condition of peace, progress and prosperity to that of danger and uncertainty? Do not let our patriotism rise from the heart Let our emotions be controlled by our intellects. . . . Let us show the masses of our people that safe and permanent progress is the result of human forethought, that the blunders of a nation are not less deplorable and blameworthy than those of an individual. Let us realise that the question is vital for all and as such it should be carefully considered. . . . The great majority of our professional and ignorant politicians are actually insisting upon independence under whatever form without calmly considering the responsibilities that it brings with it. They have flattered and seduced the people into this belief, calling us "traitors" without stopping to ascertain that the interests of our country are dearer to our hearts than to theirs. . . . Countrymen, it is not given to men to foretell what they shall be; but of this we may be sure, that with continuous peace, universal education and intelligent patriotism, the glorious possibilities of our country will be unlimited.¹⁰⁶

This, in brief, was the effect of the sensational Clarke amendment upon the Filipinos. Notwithstanding the glories which the word "independence" conveys, and in spite of the fact that every Filipino, young and old, would love to see his country independent, many feel that to be set adrift alone in the midst of greedy nations is a perilous step to take at the present time. The fear of external aggression is dominant although at times it is concealed under the cloak of rosy optimism. That Speaker Osmeña himself, the spokesman of the Nacionalista Party and an influential leader of his people, recognized this prevailing fear among the inhabitants is obvious, for he said: "There is no reason for alarm. On the contrary, we can and we should look to the future with calm and confident hope." This must be obvious enough to every one who understands the sentiment of the Filipino people. The consensus of opinion tells us that while the Filipinos desire independence, they do not desire to be en-

¹⁰⁶ *Philippines Free Press*, April 8, 1916, p. 5.

tirely free in the family of nations within so short a period as the Clarke amendment provides. That would be too sudden. Independence, if granted at all within four years, must be under a guarantee of neutrality.

It is of interest to note the non-partisan opinion of the younger generation, and of the student body. The young people realize the seriousness of independence. They realize that mere capability for maintaining peace and order does not constitute the only indispensable qualification of a nation for independence. They are unanimous in asserting that it is necessary to develop the economic resources of their country on the one hand and to raise the standard of their civilization on the other. Then and only then, do they feel assured that independence would be a success in the Philippines.

Two other points may be noted which the young people advocate: first, that the problem of independence should be divorced from politics; second, that the uninformed mass of the people should be educated in the pros and cons of the problem of independence. This has never been done so far, and the claim that the people want independence is based on the assumption that because their Representatives and Senators are for it the voters must be for it too. It has not been taken into consideration that the electorate is not responsible for the acts of their representatives after they get into office. Uncolored by any party affiliations, the thoughtful contributions of the younger generation on this national issue should command serious consideration.¹⁰⁷

Is independence desired? it may be asked. It has been desired and it probably will be desired until obtained, but not under the terms of the Clarke amendment. Independence, if it comes at all, must be conditional, that is, the freedom of the Philippines guaranteed by other nations. If the sensational Clarke amendment produced such a result as it did in the Philippines, it clearly shows that the Filipinos do not now desire it. Representative

¹⁰⁷ At this time a talented Filipino student in the United States drew a cartoon (unpublished) representing Japan as a reptile having already devoured China, Korea, and Formosa, and set to uncoil upon the Filipino who jubilantly carries his papers of independence from Uncle Sam.

Jones and Mr. Quezon put forth every effort to secure a definite period to grant independence, but met a sad defeat. Mr. Quezon was said to be very much disappointed at having failed to achieve what was generally conceived to be his special mission in the United States, and it was asserted that his not returning to America as a Commissioner was due to this failure. He is the most capable man for the office and his resignation means the retardation of the national cause.

Upon the defeat of the Jones Bill with the amendment in the House by a vote of 193 to 151 the *Philippines Free Press* said:

There may be a perfunctory cry of protest from professional politicians about the failure of the Clarke amendment in the house of representatives; but we believe the calm and considered judgment of the thinking element among the Filipino people, unswayed by partisan proclivities, will approve the failure. We also believe the Filipino people are to be congratulated on the action taken by the house.¹⁰⁸

In the opinion of the paper Congress decided that the "logical and orderly processes which have marked the work of the United States in these islands shall continue."

To the *El Ideal* the failure of the Clarke amendment was a "painful disappointment" but there was no reason for despair. *La Democracia*, however, attributed the defeat to the underhand means employed for personal gains.¹⁰⁹

The bill which finally passed Congress and was approved on August 29, 1916, was still the Jones Bill but with the Clarke amendment and the unnecessary Gronna amendment omitted. The victory caused quite an excitement in the Philippines. Twenty thousand persons paraded through a crowd of forty thousand spectators. Forty bands "competed" with each other for two solid hours, amidst standards and cries of "Long Live President Wilson"; "Long Live Governor General Harrison"; "Long Live Congressman Jones"; "Long Live the United States Congress"; and "Long Live America — Magnanimous, Great and Just."

Personal tributes followed. To Governor General Harrison and to the President of the United States were presented two

¹⁰⁸ *Philippines Free Press*, May 6, 1916, p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ *Philippines Free Press*, May 6, 1916, p. 17.

silver tablets in which was inscribed the appreciation of the Filipino people "for their untiring and unselfish labors in behalf of the Jones bill." The Filipino statesmen were recipients of thousands of congratulations. The "Quezon Gate", the "Jones Bridge", and "Harrison Park" were named to perpetuate the memory of the friends of the bill.¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ *Philippines Free Press*, August 26, 1916, p. 5, September 9, 1916, p. 13. Mr. Robertson of the Library of Congress has treated this same subject. When Mr. Jones died the Philippine Legislature appropriated \$30,000 for a monument over his grave.

IV

FILIPINIZATION OF THE INSULAR SERVICE

The matter of promoting Filipinos to high executive and responsible positions in the insular service has been one of the burning problems during the American rule. Although not championed in political speeches this problem has been felt in the administration. That the Filipinos have always desired to conduct their own affairs is undebatable. The Revolution of 1896 was evidence of the conviction that in order to establish a government to the satisfaction of the Filipino people that government must be run by Filipinos themselves. Disappointed to the last degree with the good but unfulfilled promises of the Spanish authorities and worn out by indescribable wrongs and injustice of the former régime, the Filipinos lost their trust and confidence in any avowal made to them by any foreign nation. This helped to make the Filipinos bitter enemies of the United States. However, the hopelessness of the struggle with the superior nation forced them to lay down their arms and to accept the sovereignty of the United States, not because they welcomed the foreign command, but because it was inevitable. Thus, they surrendered but their national aspiration to administer their own affairs was not in the least discouraged.

Keeping this point in mind, it can readily be seen why the desire for independence has found expression on every platform on every occasion. There has been a constant demand that the United States definitely state when the Islands should be released, ignoring the difficulty on the part of the United States of making such critical declaration at an early date. Nevertheless, it shows very clearly to what degree the Filipinos' sentiment of nationality had developed when the Americans took the country. Congress, however, did not see its way clear to declare by act of legislation the purpose of the United States regarding the

Philippines, and in the organic act of July 1, 1902, it simply approved the President's policy and temporarily provided for the administration of civil affairs in the Philippines. The United States established in the Philippines a "Government by Filipinos aided and taught by Americans"¹¹¹ with the aim of extending full self-government later to the Filipinos.

The policy of Filipinization was inaugurated by President McKinley and has been endorsed by succeeding presidents, but it has been reluctantly executed by most governors of the Philippines. Mr. Taft endorsed it in his famous slogan, "Philippines for the Filipinos". The first Philippine Commission assured the Filipino people that "the United States is not only willing, but anxious, to establish in the Philippine Islands an enlightened system of government under which the Philippine people may enjoy the largest measure of home rule and the amplest liberty consonant with the supreme ends of government and compatible with those obligations which the United States has assumed toward the civilized nations of the world."¹¹² Specific instruction for the fulfillment of this policy was given to the United States Philippine Commission of which Mr. Taft was chairman. In his instructions President McKinley said: "In all cases the municipal officers, who administer the local affairs of the people, are to be selected by the people, and that wherever officers of more extended jurisdiction are to be selected in any way, natives of the islands are to be preferred, and if they can be found competent and willing to perform the duties, they are to receive the offices in preference to any others . . . the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction . . . but for the happiness, peace and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands."¹¹³ This general policy was later crystallized into law and became the standard of administration. The Civil Service Act, the fifth law enacted by the

¹¹¹ *House Documents*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Document No. 1261, p. 45.

¹¹² Proclamation of the First Philippine Commission, "*To the People of the Philippine Islands*".

¹¹³ Instruction to the Taft Commission, April 7, 1900.

Philippine Commission, requires that in the matter of appointments preference should be made to "Natives of the Philippine Islands", and to all "honorably discharged soldiers, and sailors and marines of the United States."¹¹⁴

How far must the civil service in the Philippines be American and how far Filipino has been the main question. In the early days of the American régime Mr. Taft announced that on account of the Filipinos' unfamiliarity with American methods and their inability to use the English language it was practically necessary to confine them to subordinate and ministerial positions.¹¹⁵ From the standpoint of economy, to replace Americans with Filipinos is a saving to the insular treasury, since high salaries must necessarily be paid to Americans to induce them to leave their homes. Those who are affected by the application of the policy make the strongest protest, saying, "We are here to teach. It is ridiculous to teach from the pupils' seat."¹¹⁶ Branding Filipinization as a "grave mistake" and overdone as early as 1907 the Americans in the Philippines have always opposed the policy, on the argument that to maintain an efficient and clean administration in the Philippines Anglo-Saxon energy is necessary. Early appointments by the Philippine Commission of Filipinos to local executive offices met with severe criticism from pro-Americans.¹¹⁷

THE TREND OF FILIPINIZATION

Although the Filipinization of the civil service was not carried out in the first few years as rapidly as some Filipinos wished, the record shows that under existing conditions the progress could not have been hastened without detriment to the general welfare. The Americans in the Philippine service did not reach an appreciable number until 1903 when there were 2,777 or 51

¹¹⁴ Act No. 5 of the United States Philippine Commission, Sec. 19.

¹¹⁵ Taft's speech at the inauguration of the Philippine Assembly in the *Cablenews-American*, October 17, 1907, p. 12.

¹¹⁶ *Cablenews-American*, August 10, 1907, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXIII, Document No. 331, Pt. 1, p. 64.

per cent of the entire force. These American officials drew an aggregate salary of 7,236,700 pesos or 76 per cent of the entire payroll. Of the total number 1,998 were in the insular bureaus, 585 in the service for the city of Manila, 43 in the judicial service, and 141 in the provinces. In the same year 2,697 Filipinos constituting 49 per cent of the force, did a considerable part of the routine work at an aggregate salary of 2,189,376 pesos or 23 per cent of the total appropriation for salaries. The Filipino force was apportioned as follows: 1,186 in the insular service; 738 in the service of the city of Manila; 215 in the judicial service; and 552 in the provinces. The Philippine Commission was composed of five Americans and three Filipinos each having his American or Filipino private secretary.¹¹⁸

In 1904 the percentage of Americans in the civil service decreased to 49 per cent while that of the Filipinos increased to 51 per cent. It would appear from this that the reduction of the American force was inaugurated in 1904, but the fact is that it increased by 16 per cent while that of the Filipinos increased by 25 per cent. Three-fourths of the total salary of the service was paid to Americans and one-fourth to the Filipinos.

In 1905 the Americans constituted 45 per cent of the government force and the Filipinos 55 per cent. Actually, however, the American force increased by 2.4 per cent against an increase of 19 per cent of the Filipinos.¹¹⁹

This relative decrease of Americans in the Philippine government service continued with appreciable regularity until 1913. The increasing percentage of Filipinos was not as much due to Americans making room for them in the service as to the rapid increase of Filipino force in clerical positions.

Worthy of note in this connection is the average salary of Americans and Filipinos. In 1903 the average salary of American employees was 2,605.94 pesos a year and that of Filipinos 811.76 pesos. A gradual increase is noted until 1915 when the average salary paid to Americans was 3,698.49 pesos and to Fili-

¹¹⁸ *Annual Report of the Philippine Civil Service Board*, 1902, pp. 68-75.

¹¹⁹ *Annual Report of the Philippine Civil Service Board*, 1904, p. 87, 1905, p. 753.

pinos 998.17 pesos a year although the Director of the Civil Service had believed in 1908 that the salaries paid to the Filipinos had already reached their highest limit.

When the Philippine Assembly was inaugurated in 1907, 2,616 Americans or 40 per cent of the entire service personnel were drawing 71 per cent of the salary appropriations. In local government and in some departments of the general government, especially in judicial service, the Filipinos assumed control early in the American régime. The municipalities have had Filipino officials ever since the beginning. The Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands had three Filipino justices one of whom was the chief justice. Of the twenty-one justices of the Courts of First Instance, ten were Filipinos. The chief of the Bureau of Justice was a Filipino assisted by Filipinos and Americans; and the Court of Land Registration was represented by a Filipino and an American. All the officials of the provinces were Filipinos, elected by the voters.¹²⁰

Although the proportion of Americans in government service decreased each year by reason of the employment of more Filipinos than Americans, material reduction in the American force did not take place until the inauguration of a Democratic administration. In 1914 the percentage of Americans in the service dropped from 29 per cent in 1913 to 23 per cent. Six hundred and thirty-three Americans left the Philippine service in 1914 and 920 Filipinos were ushered in. The number of withdrawals, however, was not especially large but the number of Filipinos employed in 1914 was greater than that in any previous year. The Filipino force received 51 per cent of the salary appropriation in 1915. In previous years the larger share of the salary appropriation went to the American employees. Progressing by leaps and bounds, the percentage of Filipinos in service as compared with the total number of employees, reached 76 in 1918, and for the first time in their history the Filipinos received an average salary of 1,047.79 pesos a year. By 1918, the Americans constituted only 9 per cent of the entire force at an aggregate salary of 24 per cent of the entire salary appropriation.

¹²⁰ Governor Smith's *Message to the First Philippine Legislature* in the *Cablenews-American*, October 18, 1907, p. 13.

The following table shows the percentage of Americans and Filipinos in the Philippine civil service and their average salaries from 1903-1918.¹²¹

TABLE SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS AND FILIPINOS IN PERMANENT APPOINTIVE POSITIONS IN THE PHILIPPINE CIVIL SERVICE, AND THEIR SALARIES FROM 1903-1918 ¹²²								
YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES	PERCENTAGE OF		TOTAL SALARIES (IN PESOS)	PERCENTAGE PAID TO		AVERAGE SALARIES (IN PESOS)	
		AMER- ICANS	FILI- PINOS		AMER- ICANS	FILI- PINOS	AMERICANS	FILIPINOS
1903	5,474	51	49	9,426,076	76	23	2,605.94	811.76
1904	6,605	49	51	11,596,554	75	25	2,693.92	868.48
1905	7,330	45	55	12,252,162	73	27	2,704.08	822.70
1907	6,518	40	60	11,103,736	71	29	3,008.12	828.93
1908	6,559	38	62	11,436,091	68	32	3,125.95	903.64
1909	7,056	38	62	12,595,950	68	32	3,225.63	914.03
1910	7,272	36	64	13,052,382	67	33	3,325.29	926.25
1911	7,614	35	65	13,623,659	65	35	3,401.00	937.33
1912	8,713	31	69	14,715,299	63	37	3,450.42	906.37
1913	8,986	29	71	15,076,014	61	39	3,524.45	916.45
1914	9,431	23	77	14,715,320	53	47	3,611.75	955.28
1915	9,816	20	80	14,944,320	49	51	3,698.49	988.17
1916	10,455	17	83	14,805,312	43	57	3,686.03	966.02
1917	11,169	12	88	14,361,071	33	67	3,666.88	969.82
1918	10,866 ¹²³	9	91	15,084,333	24	76	3,913.46	1,046.79

FILIPINIZATION IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In the provincial and municipal governments, the tendency has been toward intensive popular government without much

¹²¹ Compiled from the *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1907, Pt. 1, p. 79; *Special Report of Secretary of War Dickinson*, 1910, pp. 17-19; *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service*, p. 15.

¹²² No data for 1906.

¹²³ Based on statistics for first six months of 1918.

reference to Filipinization, although the same result was attained. In the provinces, the executive officers formerly consisted of the governor, the treasurer, the supervisor, and the fiscal or prosecuting attorney. The governor, the treasurer, and the supervisor made up the provincial board, the legislative body of the province. The governor was usually a Filipino and was formerly elected by the municipal councils, but the treasurer and supervisor were Americans appointed by the Philippine Commission. The supervisor was always an engineer and had charge of public works.¹²⁴

In 1915, the provincial treasurer ceased to be a member of the board, thus divorcing him from political duties. His successor was called the *vocal* and was appointed by the Governor General from among the municipal presidents in office.¹²⁵ In February, 1916, the members of the provincial board heretofore appointed by the Governor General were made elective.¹²⁶

Most of the American high officials of the provinces were assigned to non-Christian provinces. In Christian provinces the office of treasurer has been the last to be transferred to the natives. Of the 38 provincial governors in 1906, 29 were Filipinos and 9 were Americans. In 1914 there were only 7 American governors; all the rest were Filipinos. In 1914, before the treasurer was removed from the provincial board there were 18 American treasurers as against 15 Filipinos. In 1916 the American treasurers numbered 12, and in 1917 only 7 Americans held this office.¹²⁷

The supervision over provinces and municipalities was formerly exercised by the Governor General through the executive secretary. Now the power is exercised by the Secretary of In-

¹²⁴ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXIII, Document No. 331, Pt. 1, pp. 9, 10.

¹²⁵ Act No. 2501 of the Philippine Legislature. See also Act No. 2562.

¹²⁶ Act No. 2586 of the Philippine Legislature.

¹²⁷ *Report of the Governor General*, 1916, p. 112, 1917, pp. 13, 32; *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1906, Pt. 1, p. 155; *Report of the Executive Secretary*, March 1, 1914, p. 25 (MS.).

terior through the chief of the executive bureau, both officials being Filipinos. This practically gives the Filipinos absolute control over their non-Christian population. The policy of the central government has been to encourage self-government in provincial and municipal affairs, always refraining from intervention unless by compulsion. This policy has afforded a wholesome training for the officers. The Governor General's report for 1916 contains the following estimate: "Whereas, before they had to be guided in every turn or step, now their administration is characterized by initiative and efficient actions."¹²⁸

FILIPINIZATION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

In educational work Filipinos have always realized that executive as well as teaching positions will gradually be transferred to them in the course of time. In 1902 there were 790 American teachers in the Philippines. This number continued to be approximately the same for seven years and then it began to decline. In 1915 there were only 488 American teachers. The period from 1909 to 1915 saw the number of Filipino teachers increase from 7,949 to 10,214. American teachers had to be employed in all branches of school work, assisted by Filipinos in primary grades only. In 1906 there were 82 Filipinos teaching in the intermediate schools and 34 in the high schools. At this time they were assigned to supervising work, becoming a few years later, industrial teachers and supervisors. In the years 1907 to 1915 marvellous progress has been shown. The primary grades were practically transferred to Filipino teachers in 1914. There were, then, 7,556 Filipinos and 14 Americans in the primary grades. In the intermediate schools there were 833 Filipinos and 104 Americans; in the secondary schools 17 Filipinos and 175 Americans; in industrial work 726 Filipinos and 106 Americans. In that year there were 175 Filipino supervisors and 139 American supervisors. The close of 1915 saw 1,004 Filipinos and 92 Americans in the intermediate schools; and in the high schools the number of Filipino teachers increased from 17 in 1907 to 61 in 1915. As supervisors the Filipinos outnumbered the Americans in the ratio of 200 to 120, and in industrial work the ratio was 713 to 87.

¹²⁸ *Report of the Governor General, 1916*, p. 37.

The most advanced step was made in 1915 when one school division was placed in the hands of a Filipino, Camilo Osias, now assistant director of education. Mr. Osias is a product of the Philippine public schools and educated in American universities. His appointment as division superintendent marks an epoch in the Philippine educational work. In 1916 Honorio Poblador was appointed division superintendent. Mr. Poblador was the first Filipino to become principal of a high school in the Philippines, and like Mr. Osias also a product of the Philippine public schools.¹²⁹

THE POLICY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

For four presidential elections following 1900 the Philippine problem was a leading issue in the United States. In 1900 the Democratic Party made "imperialism" one of the paramount issues in the campaign, and in 1904 it attacked the administrative policy in the Philippines. In the two campaigns which followed the Democrats advocated early independence for the Islands. The election of President Wilson in 1912 with a Democratic Congress marked the end of one policy and the beginning of another.

Upon the Democratic Party fell the lot of making the Philippine government one of Filipinos aided by Americans. Mr. Taft is remembered in the Philippines for his constructive work; Mr. Wright for the restoration of law and order; Mr. Smith for his democratic spirit; Mr. Ide for his currency and revenue systems; Mr. Forbes for his good roads policy; and Mr. Harrison for Filipinizing the Philippine service. Of all the reforms which have been effected under the Democratic régime in the Philippines the Filipinization of the insular service is most significant.

It appears that the new executive had already planned to extend to the Filipinos the widest participation in the administration before he reached the Islands. Six months after his inauguration as Governor General of the Philippines Mr. Harrison

¹²⁹ *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Director of Education*, pp. 14, 15; *Philippines Free Press*, July 1, 1916, p. 11.

urged Congress to pass the Jones bill providing for a more autonomous form of government in which the Filipinos could have greater participation than before. The new Governor believed that this change was necessary to a better understanding of the two peoples and for the good of the administration.

For three successive years — 1911, 1912, and 1913 — the two houses of the Legislature failed to agree upon the appropriations and the Governor General was forced to declare the appropriation for 1910 operative for these years. While the Philippine Assembly or lower house was composed of Filipinos, the Philippine Commission or the Senate, which exercised the exclusive power of originating the appropriation bills, contained a majority of Americans. The appointment of the fifth Filipino to the Philippine Commission in 1913 placed the Americans in the minority in the Legislature. The appointment wiped out most of the discords between the two houses, and the untiring efforts of the Philippine Assembly to let Filipinos control their funds seemed to have received the sanction of the new administration.

As newly constituted the Philippine Commission was composed of the following Filipinos: Justice Victorino Mapa of the Supreme Court, Secretary of Finance and Justice; Jaime C. De Veyra, former governor of Leyte and delegate to the Assembly; Vicente Ilustre of Batangas; and Vicente Singson, delegate from Ilocos Sur. The American members were: Henderson E. Martin of Kansas, Vice Governor and Secretary of Public Instruction; Winfred T. Denison, Secretary of the Interior; John L. Riggs, Secretary of Commerce and Police; and Francis B. Harrison, Governor General and chairman of the Commission.

The governor and commanding general of the Moro Provinces in the south retired and the American regiments were withdrawn from the Moro land. To the vacancy thus created in the executive office Frank W. Carpenter, executive secretary, was assigned. He was succeeded by Ignacio Villamor in the executive office.

The newly constituted Commission seemed to work in harmony with the Assembly in the session of 1913. In 1914 the budget was passed for the first time in three years, thus doing away

with many of the points at issue. Principal among these was the insistence of the Filipino Assembly that they exercise more control over the so-called reimbursible funds. Income producing bureaus of the government were permitted, upon the discretion of the chiefs, to expend their funds. This resulted in unbearable extravagance in the disbursement of the public money. Furthermore, bureaus which furnished supplies to other departments would charge excessively in order to make a favorable showing. By the appropriation bill of January, 1914, the income producing bureaus were required to deposit their funds in the insular treasury and at the end of the fiscal year to return to it all unexpended money.

The Filipino control of the purse strings was a saving to the national treasury of some 19 per cent of the expenditures for 1913 or five million pesos. For three years the government expended from two to two and a half millions of pesos in excess of its funds. Bankruptcy would have resulted but for the reform by the new administration.¹³⁰ What these reforms were may be noted at this time.

REFORMS EFFECTED BY THE NEW LEGISLATURE

The liberal spirit of the new administration produced harmony and coöperation in the Legislature and quickened its action. This is shown by the fact that in 1914 the Philippine Assembly approved 72 per cent of the bills originated in the Commission against 30 per cent in 1913, thus surpassing the record of previous years.¹³¹ One hundred and one bills were enacted into law in 1914 against 69, 86, and 50 in the three years immediately preceding. Apprehension concerning the financial condition of the insular treasury compelled the Legislature to adopt drastic retrenchments which made the new administration unpopular among the pro-Americans in the Islands.

The rehabilitation of the treasury was accomplished by the passage of the appropriation bill on January 31, 1914.¹³² As

¹³⁰ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, pp. 12, 13.

¹³¹ See table in Ch. II.

¹³² Act No. 2319 of the Philippine Legislature.

the Philippine Legislature passed the act prohibiting slavery, involuntary servitude, and peonage in the Philippines.¹⁴¹

It is not necessary to rehearse the accomplishment of the new Legislature in which for the first time the Filipinos assumed a control. What has been cited tends to show that Filipinizing the responsible positions is not, after all, a disaster to the interests of the Filipino people. For the first time in nine years the unwieldy Legislature which had been working with indescribable difficulty proceeded with noiseless speed. For the first time in the history of the Legislature an annual appropriation was approved early in the session of 1914, and a special session was not necessary.¹⁴²

GOVERNOR HARRISON'S POLICY

Governor Harrison's policy concerning Filipinization of the insular service was not a novelty in the American administration in the Philippines. His predecessors declared its wisdom and justice to the Filipino people. Whether the preceding governors general of the Philippines saw it or not, Governor Harrison realized early in his term that the Filipinos really desired to have a full control of their government, and that the only way to eliminate the jarrings in the governmental machinery was to recognize their claim. The salient feature of the new régime lies in the liberal spirit of the administration.

When an administration incurs the opposition of the governed it is futile to continue the policy and ignore the claim of the populace. This seems to have been the case with the Filipinos

assertion without holding some proof of it in reserve." Concluding his reply Justice Tracey said:

"I may be permitted to say that while not one of those who think Philippine independence is timely or tenable thing to-day, I deplore the creation of a public opinion in this country based on the misconception of a subject that truly needs all the light that can be shed on it by men holding official places."

See Justice Tracey's letter quoted by Mr. Quezon in the *Congressional Record*, 63rd Congress, 2nd Session, p. 16218.

¹⁴¹ Act No. 2300 of the Philippine Legislature.

¹⁴² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, pp. 12-14.

when the Democratic Party came into power. There had developed a sort of antagonism between some branches of the government and the Filipino people. In every appointment made in 1914, a liberal interpretation of the civil service law, wherever it was concerned, was observed in so far as it did no injury to the service. Four considerations governed the initial changes of 1914: first, Filipinization as the policy of the American administration; second, reduction of force for purposes of economy; third, dismissals and resignations; fourth, the need of securing the unqualified coöperation of the responsible Filipino officials.

Notwithstanding the established policy of Filipinizing the service, Governor Harrison found more Americans in permanent positions on July 1, 1913, than in 1907 or 1908. Of the thirty-one bureaus and offices, four had a Filipino as a chief. Fully realizing that the success of a department depends upon the loyal coöperation of the bureau chiefs Governor Harrison assigned Filipinos to the bureaus. By December, 1913, eight Filipinos were placed as heads of as many executive bureaus. American assistant chiefs were replaced by Filipinos in the bureaus of health, internal revenue, agriculture, and prisons. In the municipal board of Manila the Filipinos assumed the majority and likewise in the council of the city of Baguio. A Filipino was appointed city attorney for the city of Manila and for the first time in history a Filipino became prosecuting attorney for the capital city. A majority of positions in the Courts of First Instance were given to Filipinos, besides an increased number of responsible positions in the provinces.

The practice of sending to the United States for employees to perform purely clerical positions was discontinued early in Governor Harrison's term. Concerning this phase of the subject the Governor General issued an executive order directing that "when there are names on the proper eligible register of the Bureau of Civil Service no appointment shall be made to a position in the classified civil service of a person residing outside the Philippine Islands, unless, after comment by the appointing officer and the Director, the Governor General shall decide that the eligibles do not possess the technical knowledge and training or

other qualifications necessary for the position sought to be filled or that the best interests of the service require the appointment of a non-resident."¹⁴³

This order seems to find justification in the statement by the Director of the Civil Service that "on account of the increasing number of better educated Filipinos who were able to qualify in the first and second grade examinations appointing officers have almost ceased making appointments in Manila from the third (lowest) grade register of eligibles, and there has been a marked decrease in the number of eligibles appointed from this register in the provinces. For this reason the third grade examination was given only once during 1914."¹⁴⁴

A reform in the morale of the Americans in the civil service was found imperative. Notwithstanding the executive order which forbids government employees making investments in the Islands without permission, it had been the practice of the former administration to grant it unreservedly. The practice of permitting officials to invest in the countries where they are sent to administer the government has inevitably resulted in mere exploitation. To say nothing of the time which such business demands, the practice should not be permitted because it leads to the befogging of judgment and thus corrupts the administration. To correct this pernicious tendency Governor Harrison issued Executive Order No. 103, December 1, 1913, regulating the practice. This was followed by another order prohibiting Americans in the service from participating in American politics in the Philippines.¹⁴⁵

Observers began to pass judgment on the seemingly radical policy under the Democratic administration. While the Filipino press hailed Harrison as the "Messiah who had come to liberate us from the yoke of oppression",¹⁴⁶ the American press in the

¹⁴³ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, p. 28.

¹⁴⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, p. 28.

¹⁴⁵ *Official Gazette*, December 17, 1913, pp. 2201, 2202.

¹⁴⁶ *The Manila Times*, February 28, 1915, p. 4, March 26, 1915, p. 7, September 20, 1915, p. 4.

Philippines flayed the new administration. Basing its argument on "experience" as the only just cause for promotion, the *Manila Times* condemned the preamble of the Jones Law which provides for extension of the control of government to Filipinos. Voicing the American opinion, the press in the Islands continues to condemn the creation of an elective Senate and especially to the making of appointments with its consent. On the other hand Vice Governor Martin said, "Let the Filipinos have the jobs."¹⁴⁷ Every time an office was vacated through furloughs or otherwise, the Filipino press always took the occasion of recommending a Filipino for the office.

CARDINAL APPOINTMENTS

As has already been intimated the Philippine Legislature became practically Filipinized in October, 1913, upon the appointment of Victorino Mapa as a member of the Philippine Commission and as Secretary of Finance and Justice. The vacancy thus created in the Supreme Court by his resignation was filled by Manule Araullo, president of the Code Committee.¹⁴⁸

Following his announced policy of giving the Filipino people a directing control in their affairs, Governor Harrison inaugurated the plan of appointing Filipinos in the executive bureaus. Some of the most notable changes so made took place in the bureau of lands and in the bureau of health of the Department of the Interior. A special situation in the bureau of lands demanded a drastic change. The Filipino people have always been opposed to the selling of the friar lands in large lots to corporations. It appears that Charles H. Sleeper, the director of the bureau, had repeatedly made such sales according to the policy of the former administration. As a solution to this problem, Governor Harrison requested the resignation of the American director and placed Manuel Tinio, then director of the bureau of labor, in charge. The theory was that the Filipino people should be given the control of their lands. Mr. Tinio resigned the fol-

¹⁴⁷ *The Manila Times*, March 28, 1915, p. 1, April 23, 1915, p. 1, September 25, 1915, p. 4.

¹⁴⁸ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, p. 23.

lowing year and Rafael Corpus, then the Solicitor General of the Philippine government, was assigned to the position. Mr. Tinio's resignation was caused by a charge that he had made illegal grants of homesteads, and those who opposed the appointment spread the rumor in Manila. Informal and official investigations proved the charge unfounded. Walter E. Jones, provincial treasurer of Pangasinan, was appointed assistant chief to the bureau of lands. It is reported that Mr. Corpus succeeded in establishing good relations between Americans and Filipinos in the bureau.¹⁴⁹

The resignation of Dr. Victor G. Heiser from the directorship of the bureau of health promoted Dr. J. D. Long, assistant director to the office, to the directorship. Dr. Vicente de Jesus, for twelve years in the staff of the bureau, was promoted to the assistant directorship.

By Act No. 2307 of the Philippine Legislature, the Board of Public Utility Commissioners supplanted the Board of Rate Regulation, to the dissatisfaction of the railroad corporations. The chairman appointed was Mariano Cui who was judge of a Court of First Instance for six years. Stephen Bonsal and Clyde A. Dewitt composed the membership of the Board.

Some changes were made in the bureau of justice. Upon the resignation of John J. Pershing in December, 1913, as governor of the Moro Province, Executive Secretary Frank W. Carpenter was appointed to the post. Ignacio Villamor was made executive secretary, leaving his office as Attorney General to Ramon Avancena, of the Court of First Instance. After serving seventeen months as executive secretary Mr. Villamor resigned to accept the presidency of the University of the Philippines. Solicitor General George R. Harvey became judge of the Court of First Instance and Rafael Corpus was assigned to his place.

It was always believed that the bureau of agriculture should be Filipinized more rapidly than any other bureau for it is so closely connected with the life of the Filipino people. A decisive step toward this goal was made by the appointment of Adriano

¹⁴⁹ *Report of the Philippine Commission, 1914*, pp. 18, 19, 98.

Hernandez, formerly governor of Iloilo, to assistant directorship.¹⁵⁰

Perhaps Filipinization proceeded with unequal pace in the bureau of forestry. In 1915, 95 per cent of the administrative force were Filipinos. Of the eleven forest districts in the Philippines nine were in the charge of Filipinos and all subordinates were Filipinos.¹⁵¹

These are some of the appointments which early in Governor Harrison's term in the Philippines aroused bitter criticisms among his countrymen, who charged that the new administration had granted independence to Filipinos before Congress had an opportunity to act upon the matter.¹⁵² From January 1 to May 13, 1914, 316 Americans left the Philippine service. Of these 94 were due to reduction of force for purposes of economy, 210 were voluntary resignations, and the rest for various reasons. In April alone, 82 Filipinos were appointed to office as compared with 5 Americans and 162 Filipinos were promoted against 31 Americans in different bureaus of the government.¹⁵³ During the fiscal year 1914, 633 or 29½ per cent of the American force were withdrawn from the service as follows: 478 resigned on their own volition; 127 resigned as a result of reduction of force; 18 were removed for cause; and 10 died. During the first eighteen months of the new administration, from January 1, 1913, to July 1, 1914, 807 Filipinos were added to the Philippine service to say nothing of 113 telegraph operators in the bureau of posts.¹⁵⁴ Ninety-three persons were employed from the United States in 1914, of whom 45 were teachers and the rest officers and technical experts. The importation of clerks was discontinued.

THE OSMENA RETIREMENT ACT

The Osmeña Retirement Act passed February 4, 1916, is effect-

¹⁵⁰ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, pp. 17, 18, 22, 23.

¹⁵¹ *The Manila Times*, February 28, 1915, p. 8.

¹⁵² *Cablenews-American*, June 6, 1914, p. 4.

¹⁵³ *Cablenews-American*, May 13, 1914, p. 5.

¹⁵⁴ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, pp. 28, 29.

ing intensive Filipinization of the Philippine service. For years Filipinization of the civil service had been slow. There was no inducement by which American employees might be persuaded to leave their good positions in the Islands. Arguing on the subject of Filipinization in 1914, Mr. Quezon, then Resident Commissioner at Washington, said: "The debate would then turn simply upon the abstract desirability of protecting American office holders in the Philippines. There can be no doubt as to how it would eventuate."¹⁵⁵ It was an opportune time for such a measure. During the years 1914, 1915, and 1916, while the Philippine autonomy bill was pending in Congress, a civil pension had become a vital problem in official circles, especially among the Americans who, upon the passage of the bill, would practically be compelled to retire by virtue of the provisions of the act.

The retirement act concerns those officers and employees who are regularly and permanently appointed to the Philippine service. Upon his own initiative, an officer of this class who has rendered faithful service for at least six years may apply to the Governor General for retirement under the provisions of the law. Action upon the application is at the discretion of the chief executive and depends upon the exigencies of the service. It must be filed before July 1, 1916. The amount of the gratuity varies from 60 per cent of the year's salary for six years' service to one full year's gratuity for ten years' service or more, payable in monthly installments. It has always been realized that the salary paid to Americans is too large for the Philippine treasury, but it was considered necessary in order to induce them to enter the Philippine service.

In order to prevent the recurrence of this expensive arrangement the law provides that except in the judiciary, and except where the emergency board recommends the continuance of the office a position so vacated shall be considered abolished *ipso facto*, but if it has to be maintained the compensation shall be decreased by one-third. To safeguard the Philippine treasury the act provides that an officer retired under its terms shall not

¹⁵⁵ *The Filipino People*, September, 1914, p. 15.

be re-appointed to the service of the Philippine government, and if re-instated he shall refund the gratuities granted to him and waive all claim for retirement under the provisions of the act. For three years at least his salary shall not exceed the salary paid to him when he retired.¹⁵⁶

These are the provisions of the pension act which concerned most of the Americans in the Philippine civil service. In 1916 the Governor General reported that "There are 500 Americans in the service not eligible for retirement under the terms of Act No. 2589 who will have rendered from three to seven years of service at the end of 1917."¹⁵⁷ There were in July, 1916, 1,730 Americans in the Philippine civil service.¹⁵⁸ The eligibles therefore numbered 1,230. The Governor General reports that in 1916, 1,064 Americans applied for retirement under the act and all but fifty were granted a total gratuity of 1,053,357 pesos.

While the policy adopted is not intended to retire Filipinos from the service except for physical reasons, sixty-one retired under the provisions of the act at a total gratuity of 66,022 pesos.¹⁵⁹ In 1917, 187 Americans and 28 Filipinos were retired at a total outlay of 1,928,517 pesos; and in January, 1918, there were still 440 Americans who were entitled to leave the service under the act.¹⁶⁰

Whether the retirement act was merely an expression of liberality on the part of the Philippine government toward its faithful servants, or one of its many reforms toward economy, the dominant result is the Filipinization of the civil service. Attendant circumstances encouraged many Americans to take advantage of the act. First, on account of the war into which the United States was on the point of entering, the Americans in the Philippines were eagerly awaiting the call to the colors. To

¹⁵⁶ Act No. 2589 of the Philippine Legislature.

¹⁵⁷ *Report of the Governor General*, 1916, p. 9.

¹⁵⁸ *Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service*, 1916, p. 23.

¹⁵⁹ *Report of the Governor General*, 1916, p. 9.

¹⁶⁰ *Report of the Governor General*, 1917, p. 11.

leave the Philippine service under the provision of the act was only sound economic foresight. Secondly, the agitation for independence in connection with the Jones Bill which was pending in Congress contributed very largely to the uncertainty of American officials in the Philippine government. As a result, many tendered their resignations and the number of Filipinos increased to 10,866 in 1918, a net increase of 2,000 since the passage of the act. The number of Americans dwindled from 1,730, in 1916, to 948, in 1918. Expressed in percentages, 29 per cent of the American employees resigned in 1916, 32 per cent in 1917, and 41 per cent in 1918.¹⁶¹

TRANSFER TO FEDERAL SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES

Another measure adopted by the new administration which tended to encourage American withdrawals from the Philippine service was the greater opportunity for transferring from service in the Islands to similar positions in the Federal service at home. In previous years Americans who withdrew from the Philippine service had to seek other positions because the places they left had been filled. It would be but just to faithful service in the Philippines to place the returning officials in the Federal service. In 1914 President Wilson modified this rule. The three years' service which by contract must be rendered in the Philippines was reduced to two years and in case of separation from the island service due to Filipinization or other reduction of American force, an employee, through the agency of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, would be re-instated in a similar position in the United States, although sometimes at a considerably less salary.¹⁶²

A COMMON ASPIRATION

From the standpoint of the administration, the policy of placing Filipinos in the civil service is supported by two considerations: first, it is justice to the Filipino people who are entitled to a directing voice in their government; second, it is an economy

¹⁶¹ *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Civil Service*, pp. 16, 17.

¹⁶² *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, p. 29.

to the treasury. From the standpoint of the Filipino people as a whole the policy is important for other reasons. In order to fully appreciate the characteristic of the Filipino people of which the peaceful movement for Filipinizing the government is an expression, it is essential to portray first the status of the Filipinos at the beginning of the American occupation and then to relate their attitude toward the American rule.

It is to be regretted that the Filipinos have never gained the full sympathy of the American people. The general attitude of the American people toward the Filipinos has never changed one whit since Dewey's victory in Manila Bay. This is not entirely the fault of the credulous American public, for the Philippines have been grossly misrepresented. Furthermore, in the midst of colossal problems with which that vast commonwealth is confronted, the Philippines are but an insignificant atom. They occupy only the minor attention of Congress. The American people have not fully realized that the Filipinos, although broken up into "tribes" seemingly diverse from each other, had, under the oppression of the Spaniards, developed a national spirit to an appreciable degree. This spirit has been expressed in many ways — in the Revolution against Spain in which the Filipino people decided to run their own government; in the war against the United States; and in the so-called guerrilla warfare. Of late the national feeling has been expressed in the aspiration to gain the fullest control of the administrative affairs. A direct protest against the American rule may not have been made, and the Filipinos may have appeared well contented with what has been conceded to them, but in their hearts they yearn for a Filipino government. The mere thought of a Filipino nation generates a pride which every Filipino old and young loves to cherish; and although an American protectorate may have been desired by a few, the Filipinos have continued to aspire to national independence. Every American who has been in the Islands has found that although a Filipino may not favor immediate independence he usually expresses a desire for independence in the future. This feeling can not be crushed: it gains deeper roots every day, as the civilization of the Filipino

people advances. It was this longing for independence which, in the opinion of the generals, made the Filipinos in 1900 friends during the day but bitter enemies during the night. American officials have acknowledged that had it not been for the concession of a Filipino Assembly in 1902, the bush warfare would have continued; and, strictly speaking, peace was not attained in the Islands until 1916, when Congress granted the Filipinos control of their Senate.

On this subject of national "opposition" against the American rule, the military and the civil officers in the Philippines have differed since 1900. By virtue of their occupation, the military authorities realized the unity of the Filipino people in the early days of the American régime, amounting always to the desire for a government by Filipinos. In an interview with a prominent Filipino who was neither a politician nor a soldier but a man of property and of culture, an army official relates his experience. Referring to the rights of the Filipino people to a separate government the Filipino rose and with the most emphatic gesture exclaimed: "I am not a Spaniard, I am not an American, I am not a Filipino — what am I?"¹⁶³ This statement, declared the officer, expressed the yearning of the ten million Filipinos in 1901. That yearning, it must be added, has not waned in the least. Untold sacrifice has but added to it; precious lives have been dedicated to the national sentiment; and it can not be ignored. The lessons learned from the extreme sacrifice which the Filipino hero made in 1896 will forever tie the Filipino people into one people. It was this feeling of national pride, and not the fact that he was an agitator, which made Mabini refuse to take the oath of allegiance to the United States, and it is this same pride which made Pio del Pilar violate his oath of allegiance. While in exile in the island of Guam, Mabini said, "I cannot give up to the idea that others shall legislate for me and my people and in so doing govern us. It is better for me to die in exile than to prostitute my conscience."¹⁶⁴ Mabini is one

¹⁶³ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XX, Document No. 273, pp. 19, 20.

¹⁶⁴ *The Manila American*, July 15, 1902, p. 4.

of the ablest leaders who have struggled to defend the Filipinos as a people. This statement meets with the approval and the united support of the Filipinos to-day.

Whether the Filipinos will be able to maintain a stable government of their own or not remains yet to be seen, but the fact remains that they yearn for a government of the Philippines by the Filipinos. It is this yearning which is behind the movement of Filipinizing the government service.

ECONOMIC PREJUDICE

Closely associated with the other arguments for the Filipinization of the civil service is the feeling on the part of the Filipinos that they have been subjected to unnecessary discrimination in the matter of compensation. A Filipino newspaper expressed this feeling when it declared that while the Americans get "fabulous salaries the Filipinos get the crumbs".¹⁶⁵ Despite their prolonged training in civil service, the Filipinos have always been in subordinate positions, making the situation, says one newspaper, a burlesque and a "painful contradiction for those who have faith in the improvement promised." It appears that despite the uniform rule of civil service there is one set of rules governing the appointment of Americans and another set governing the appointment of Filipinos. Although a Filipino may have passed the same civil service examination the same as an American the salaries of the two are most unequal. The situation appears to be made doubly unjust to Filipino employees by the rapid promotion of the Americans. Each year each American bureau chief submits a large estimate of expenditures and creates superior offices for Americans and only inferior ones for Filipinos. What is the secret of the Philippine administration, murmur the Filipinos in the service. Is it based on the theory that "birds must be fed"?¹⁶⁶ Such thoughts as these present themselves to the mind of the Filipino people. The problem becomes

¹⁶⁵ Quoted in the *Cablenews-American*, May 22, 1907, p. 4.

¹⁶⁶ This phrase was uttered by a man who has been in the United States Senate for sixteen years. Referring to the intention of the United States in the Philippines the Senator told the author that the United States

the topic of private discussions — on the way from the office, and at the table.

A glance over the table presented elsewhere in this chapter supports the statements. This is one of the many things which made the Filipino people present formal petitions for reform.¹⁶⁷ On the occasion of his official visit to the Philippine Islands in 1910 Secretary of War Dickinson received numerous petitions from the citizens among which were the following: eight petitions for an elective Senate; six petitions for Filipinization of the civil service; two petitions for a Filipino Vice Governor; two petitions for equalization of salaries between Americans and Filipinos; and two petitions for an equal number of Americans and Filipinos as secretaries. These petitions were presented to the Secretary at public hearings where the citizens presented their claims. Municipal councils, municipal presidents, provincial boards, and prominent citizens were the sponsors of the several petitions.¹⁶⁸

The political education and training of the Filipinos rests in the hands of the Governor General. As the representative of America he can be liberal or conservative. The interpretation of the civil service rule depends largely on the Governor.

Second to the Jones Act which granted the Filipino people full control of their Legislature, Filipinization should be counted a salient feature in the Democratic administration in the Philippines. The changes in staff which ordinarily follow the victory of a party coupled to the passage of the Jones Act in 1916 which would never let the Islands go, first because of the love of power, second because of "the theory that birds must be fed."

See also *Cablenews-American*, May 29 and 31, 1907.

Petition of the Nacionalista Party in *Special Report of Secretary of War Dickinson*, 1910, pp. 80, 85. For the same cause the Progresista Party joined in the petition to the Secretary.

¹⁶⁷ *The Manila Times*, June 28, 1915, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Special Report of Secretary of War Dickinson*, 1910, Appendix A B D, and pp. 45, 56, 57. For testimonies bearing on the subject see *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, Vol. I, pp. 342, 644; *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XVI, Document No. 187, p. 2.

guarantees Filipinization of the civil service, and added to all these the reforms which the Legislature effected, have made the Democratic administration in the Philippine Islands very unpopular among the Americans who have been in the Philippine service since 1900. The Filipinos, however, have not seen any reason for regret in the Democratic administration.

Through the peaceful process of Filipinization the Filipinos have attained practical independence. Except the Governor General the high American officials in the Philippines to-day hold non-political positions, that is to say, positions which necessitate no participation in politics. In former years the Philippine government was one of Americans aided by Filipinos, to-day it is a government by Filipinos advised by a few Americans.

V

EXECUTIVE REFORMS UNDER THE JONES ACT

Those who have followed the conditions in the Philippines during the last twelve years must have realized that the organic act of July 1, 1902, had outlived its usefulness by 1913. The popularly elected Filipino Assembly and the appointive American-Filipino Commission worked together for only three short years, and then followed the irreconcilable deadlocks for three successive years. Had not President Wilson appointed the fifth Filipino to the Commission and so secured a Filipino majority, untold difficulties would have ensued.

The framework created by the organic act of July 1, 1902, was a peculiar bicameral system. The Philippine Commission was appointed by the President of the United States and responsible to him. As the Senate of the Legislature it had the exclusive power of drafting the appropriation bill. The Filipino members were more or less honorary for they held no portfolio. The four executive departments were distributed among the American members of the Commission. Furthermore, the Commission had exclusive power over the non-Christian provinces which constitute one-third of the Philippine Archipelago. The Philippine Assembly was popularly elected and was a Filipino body. As such it was responsible to the Filipino people whom it represented. In spite of this it had no power to originate appropriation bills, nor any jurisdiction over certain portions of the Philippine Islands.

Under this anomaly, it may be seen that discord was almost inevitable, especially when it is taken into consideration that the Assembly has persistently made efforts to take over the financial initiative in matters of drafting the budget. The Jones Act of August 29, 1916, eliminated many causes of disagreements. Its preamble is worthy of notice:

Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognize their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence.¹⁰⁰

The preamble is significant in two respects: first, it embodies the definite purpose of the United States in the Philippines; second, it declares in the most solemn words the heretofore well accepted policy of extending to the Filipino people the responsibility for their domestic affairs. From the standpoint of the Filipino people the preamble is of greatest moment, surpassing in importance the provision granting an effective Senate. While the bill was pending in Congress the point of contention between the American and Filipino press in the Philippines was the preamble. The administration was provisional as expressed in the words of the organic act: "Temporarily to provide for the administration of the affairs of the civil government". That this uncertainty proved an economic loss to the Islands by keeping away capital that might otherwise have developed the resources of the country has been admitted. This is one of the reasons why the Filipino people through their popular Assembly have always insisted on some specific statement from Congress.

The preamble is also significant in that it extends to the Filipino people responsibility for their domestic affairs in order that they may as soon as possible fit themselves for complete independence. In other words, it is the policy of Filipinization of the Philippine service expressed by law. This provision was a source of great satisfaction to the Filipino people.

¹⁰⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416.

IMPORTANT FEATURES OF THE JONES ACT

From the point of view of Philippine administration the organic act, known as the Jones Bill, is one of the best pieces of legislation which Congress has ever drafted. The first advantage to be noted is the broad delegation of powers to the Philippine Legislature. General legislative powers are conferred upon the Philippine Legislature which, at its discretion, may alter or amend many of the laws. As the law-making body of the country, it may pass laws governing the properties and rights acquired by the United States in the Philippines.¹⁷⁰ Restrictions are made concerning the laws on tariff, public lands, immigration, and currency. Before these laws can be enforced they must be approved by the President. Furthermore, no duties may be levied on exports from the Philippines.¹⁷¹ All expenses which may be incurred by the administration must be paid by the Philippine treasury except those expenses which the United States incurs for defenses and works for the exclusive use of the army and navy. The Philippine Legislature has power to fix the salaries of the officials and may increase or decrease them as the need may demand, but the salaries of the Secretary of Public Instruction, of the justices of the Supreme Court, of the auditor, of the deputy auditor, and of the Governor General may not be changed.¹⁷² Most important of all, the much coveted power of framing the budget was given to the Filipinos. However, the provision that in case of failure of the Legislature to pass the appropriation, the budget for the year immediately preceding shall become operative, has been retained.¹⁷³ Furthermore, in the matter of appointments the Philippine Senate has a voice with the Governor General. Exceptions to this rule are the appointments of the Secretary of Public Instruction, who is pro-

¹⁷⁰ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Secs. 7-9.

¹⁷¹ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Secs. 10, 11.

¹⁷² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Secs. 4, 29.

¹⁷³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Sec. 19.

vided for in the law, and the Representatives and Senators to represent the non-Christian tribes. The government of the Philippines reserves the power of eminent domain. It may grant franchises to companies and corporations with the understanding that the Congress of the United States has the power to alter or annul these franchises. Except where it is expressly provided, the laws enacted by Congress do not apply in the Philippine Islands.¹⁷⁴

PARLIAMENTARY-PRESIDENTIAL SYSTEM

The organic act also provides that the Philippine Legislature may, by appropriate legislation, reorganize the executive departments as instituted by the act of July 1, 1902, but the Department of Public Instruction and the Department of Interior shall not be abolished. The changes effected under this provision placed the Philippine government in the list of modern governments.

Accordingly, on November 18, 1916, the Philippine Legislature passed an act providing for six executive departments in place of four. These are the departments of Public Instruction, Finance, Justice, Agriculture and Natural Resources, Interior, and Commerce and Communications.¹⁷⁵ Formerly there were four departments — Interior, Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction. Except the Secretary of Public Instruction, all the executive secretaries must be citizens of the Philippine Islands, thirty years of age, and must have resided in the Islands for three consecutive years prior to the appointment.¹⁷⁶ An act passed on December 14, 1916, fixed the salaries of officials and employees in the civil service, and since it provides for salaries on the basis of a Filipino personnel the law is considered of some importance.¹⁷⁷

During the debate on the bill reorganizing the executive de-

¹⁷⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Secs. 5, 28.

¹⁷⁵ Act No. 2666 of the Philippine Legislature.

¹⁷⁶ *Administrative Code of the Philippine Islands*, 1917, Sec. 78.

¹⁷⁷ Act No. 2668 of the Philippine Legislature.

pine government which has promoted harmony of action between the legislative and the executive branches is the Council of State. For about two years the secretaries of the departments constituted the informal cabinet of the Governor General. This informal relation proved beneficial to the administration, but it was later conceived that this body could be made more effective by official recognition and by permitting the Legislature to participate.¹⁸⁵ Accordingly, on October 16, 1918, the Governor General issued an executive order creating the Council of State as his official advisory board "to aid and advise the Governor-General on matters of public importance, said Council to consist of such persons as may be from time to time appointed and summoned by the Governor-General. There shall be a president and a vice-president of the Council, the president ex-officio being the Governor-General and the vice-president such member of the Council as may be elected by the Council."¹⁸⁶ On November 27th the chief executive announced that the Council was to be composed of the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the President of the Senate, and the six secretaries of the departments. In its first meeting the Council of State elected Speaker Osmeña vice president.¹⁸⁷

While some made political capital out of the creation of the body and others saw in it autocracy looming on the Philippine horizon,¹⁸⁸ the Council of State has proven an indispensable asset to the good and efficient administration of the Philippine affairs. It can readily be seen that the Council is an immense improvement upon the parliamentary system contemplated in the act reorganizing the executive departments. It is, in fact, the application of the preamble to the Jones Law, not to mention Governor Harrison's policy, that in order to secure a stable government in the Philippines, the Filipinos must be given a

¹⁸⁵ *The Manila Times*, October 16, 1918, p. 2.

¹⁸⁶ Executive Order No. 37, October 16, 1918.

¹⁸⁷ Executive Order No. 47, November 27, 1918.

¹⁸⁸ *The Manila Times*, October 17, 1918, p. 9, December 14, 1918, p. 4, December 18, 1918, p. 9.

directing voice in their affairs. If the informal cabinet served as a factor in creating harmony between the Legislature and the executive, the Council of State promoted that harmony. Judging the Council by its personnel the Governor's selection was wise and practicable. The importance of giving places on the Council to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House is too obvious to need further comment. Except for their addition the composition of the unofficial cabinet did not otherwise change. The Council of State has facilitated administrative and legislative procedure to the disappointment of skeptical observers. It has proven an invaluable asset to the government and so far has been responsible for some constructive pieces of legislation. Meeting regularly at least once a week, the two departments—the legislative and the executive—of government can not but work together. The presence of the Speaker of the House and of the President of the Senate is indispensable in facilitating legislative action which the Council may desire. It serves as a link between the executive and the legislative departments. Through the Council, unnecessary jarrings tending to develop discord between the two branches have been largely eliminated. Its good results are seen in the making and passing of the budget, which for three successive years put the success of the Philippine government in doubt. To-day, decision on it is reached in the meeting of the Council of State, and when the budget is presented by the Governor General in the form of a recommendation it is practically in finished form, and the Legislature has been more or less acquainted with the items. The budget for 1919 passed the Legislature with only minor amendments.¹⁸⁹

Besides facilitating budget-making, the Council of State has shown its usefulness in other ways. It has sponsored many enactments among which are the appropriation of 30,000,000 pesos for elementary education and of 300,000 pesos to send Filipinos to the United States to qualify themselves for civil service in the Philippines. These bills were framed in the

¹⁸⁹ *The Manila Times*, December 12, 1918, p. 1, December 21, 1918, p. 1, November 7, 1919, p. 4, November 9, 1919, p. 4, November 16, 1919, p. 4.

Council of State and received the sanction of the Legislature.¹⁹⁰ The charge that the Council would encroach upon the inherent prerogatives of the Legislature has found no support.

Another temporary board may be mentioned in passing, as it shows to what extent the Filipinos have been permitted to formulate the policy of their country. During the prosecution of the World War in which the Filipinos demonstrated their unqualified loyalty to the United States, the Governor General fully recognized the Filipinos' share. Upon the recommendation of the Council of National Defense, the Governor created the Council of Defense for the Philippines to advise him on measures concerning the safeguarding of public opinion and for the mobilization of resources in the prosecution of the war. A few days after its organization, on August 1, 1918, the Council was enlarged. Among the important additions were the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate.¹⁹¹

BUDGET SYSTEM ESTABLISHED

A piece of reform which is very important in the administration of the Philippine government is the adoption of a sound budget system. According to the organic act the Governor General "shall submit within ten days of the opening of the session of the Philippine Legislature a budget of receipts and expenditures, which shall be the basis of the annual appropriation bill."¹⁹² The method heretofore observed in framing the bill was that each bureau prepared an estimate of the receipts and expenditures not for the head of the department but for the executive secretary on behalf of the Governor General. The result was that each bureau tried to get as big an appropriation as possible, ignoring, if not ignorant of, the receipts of the insular treasury. In 1916 the Governor reported that the expenditures for 1913 exceeded the revenues by 7,196,482 pesos and

¹⁹⁰ Act No. 2785 of the Philippine Legislature; *The Manila Times*, December 14, 1918, p. 4.

¹⁹¹ Executive Order No. 25, August 1, 1918, and No. 28, August 17, 1918.

¹⁹² *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Sec. 21.

those for 1914 exceeded the revenues by 2,841,118.81 pesos.¹⁹⁸

It is apparent that a thorough financial reform was needed. Accordingly, an order was promulgated prescribing a new procedure of budget-making, so far as this could be done without violating the provisions of the organic act. The new system was inaugurated in 1917. Each bureau chief was requested to prepare an estimate of the receipts and expenditures for his bureau to be submitted to the head of the department. This arrangement brings the bureau chief and the head of the department together to discuss the items of the bill. Then each department head submits the bill to the Secretary of Finance who, in turn, with the impartial and independent aid of the Insular Auditor, goes over the different estimates and compares them with the estimated receipts of the government for the fiscal year. Before submitting the entire bill to the Legislature, it is thoroughly discussed in the cabinet meeting where the Secretary of Finance offers his amendments. Once agreed to by the cabinet it is submitted to the Governor General for transmittal to the Legislature. The practice, however, has been to let the Secretary of Finance appear before the joint session of the Legislature on behalf of the chief executive. This practice seems to be appropriate for the Secretary of Finance is the man to explain any ambiguities. In 1917 he appeared first before the House of Representatives and then before the Senate to answer various questions. It is interesting to note that the budget for 1917 was enacted as it was approved by the cabinet.

The adoption of the budget system is a beneficent reform in the government of the Philippine Islands. It has established a sound financial policy in which the responsibility is placed where it should be. It has separated the budget-making from the general function of legislation. At any time during the consideration of the bill in the House, in the Senate, or in the Committee on Appropriations, the secretary of a department may be summoned to explain the items concerning his particular department. In this way the heads of the departments are made responsible to the Legislature. It has abolished buccaneering with

¹⁹⁸ *Report of the Governor General, 1916, p. 5.*

the funds of the people. But most important of all it established a common understanding among the departments of the government, thereby eliminating unnecessary friction and delay. With the Governor General, the executive secretaries, the Speaker of the House, and the President of the Senate participating in the discussions over government matters, unity and coördination of action is secured. Through the power of the Legislature to summon an official for testimony no department or bureau escapes publicity, something which could not be attained in previous years. The budget system adopted in 1917 is an achievement in the Philippine administration.¹⁹⁴

THE POLICY WITH THE NON-CHRISTIAN TRIBES

The territories inhabited by the Mohammedan and pagan tribes of the Philippines were under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Philippine Commission until the passage of the Jones Act. The territories comprise about 45,152 square miles or forty per cent of the entire area of the Philippine Islands, with a population of about a million people.¹⁹⁵

By this act of Congress, approved August 29, 1916, the control of these territories was turned over to the Philippine Legislature, but the following provision was added: "There is hereby established a bureau, to be known as the Bureau of Non-Christian tribes, which said bureau shall be embraced in one of the executive departments to be designated by the Governor General, and shall have general supervision over the public affairs of the inhabitants of the territory represented in the legislature by appointive senators and representatives."¹⁹⁶

Pursuant to this provision the Legislature passed Act No. 2666 which placed the bureau under the Department of Interior while Act No. 2674 provided for the administration of the bureau. This law was later reenacted in the Administrative Code

¹⁹⁴ *Report of the Governor General, 1917*, pp. 104, 105.

¹⁹⁵ *Report of the Governor General, 1917*, pp. 54, 55; Worcester's *The Philippines, Past and Present*, Vol. II, p. 1000. The Philippine census for 1919 gives 500,000 for the non-Christians.

¹⁹⁶ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Sec. 22.

of the Philippine Islands, 1917, which is the law of the entire archipelago. Frank W. Carpenter, governor of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, was appointed director of the bureau, with the assistance of an undersecretary and special agents to the non-Christian people who reside among the civilized element. The law reads in part as follows: "It shall be the duty of the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes to continue the work for advancement and liberty in favor of the regions inhabited by non-christian Filipinos and foster by all adequate means and in a systematical, rapid and complete manner, the moral, material, economic, social, and political development of those regions, always bearing in view the aim of rendering permanent the mutual intelligence between and complete fusion of all the Christian and non-Christian elements populating the province of the Archipelago."¹⁹⁷

The two Senators appointed to represent the non-Christian tribes were Juaquin D. Luna, Mountain Province; and Hadji Butu Abdul Baki, representing Mindanao and Sulu. In the House of Representatives five Christians, two Mohammedans, and two pagans represented the non-Christians. These were Juan Cariño, Rafael Bulayungan, Pedro Aunario, all from the Mountain Province; Wenceslao Valera, Datu Piang, Pablo Lorenzo, Teodoro Palma Gil, Datu Benito, Isidro Vamenta, representing Mindanao and Sulu.¹⁹⁸

The uncivilized tribes in the Philippines have been accorded a representation in the Philippine Legislature, a privilege heretofore unknown to them. The purpose of the government is to extend to them civilizing opportunities which will ultimately bring about complete fusion with their Christian brothers. Efforts have been directed to public education, to the development of their natural resources, and to sanitation and public works.

The education extended to the non-Christian tribes is also vocational. In the primary grades the pupils are trained in agriculture, and schools along the coast place emphasis upon the development of marine products, not only sea foods but industry

¹⁹⁷ Act No. 2674 of the Philippine Legislature, Sec. 3.

¹⁹⁸ *Report of the Governor General*, 1917, p. 56.

in shells, pearls, and sponges. Roads and bridges are being provided in districts which have been isolated for centuries. The socializing influence of public works can not be overestimated.

The government has even done more than merely extend the ordinary curricula to the non-Christian tribes. It is investigating the talents of these peoples with a view to developing them. Recently scholarships have been established in household industries, in nursing, in agriculture, in arts, and in trade and commerce. The uncivilized peoples have broken down the barriers of the centuries and have gone forth even to the United States in search of further training. The Philippine government is making a permanent investment which insures profit by encouraging these young people to prepare themselves to serve their own people.¹⁹⁹

In 1917 the Philippine government passed an appropriation of 100,000 pesos to aid such inhabitants of Luzon and the Visayas who might desire to immigrate to the southern islands either to acquire land or to seek employment. Over five thousand were transported to Mindanao on government vessels in the same year and more are awaiting accommodation.²⁰⁰ This program will not only develop the resources of the south but will bring the two elements of Filipino people together as they never have been before and will thus abolish the tribal differences which have existed for ages.

The surrender of the non-Christian tribes to civilization and their acceptance of authorities other than their Sultan, marks the turning point in the history of the Moro people. Since time immemorial the religious officials of Mindanao and Sulu have been looked upon as the sole instruments to effect economic and social development. Naturally, any usurpation of these privileges and rights by an impartial and strange government is taken as a pernicious activity. This part of the Moro problem has always been complex and delicate and it has delayed the complete submission to the sovereignty of the United States.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁹ *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1914, pp. 350, 351.

²⁰⁰ *Report of the Governor General*, 1917, pp. 68, 69.

²⁰¹ *Report of the Governor General*, 1917, p. 30.

The passage of the Jones Law guaranteeing independence to the Philippine Islands aroused a suspicion in the Mohammedan islands. Fearing that an independent Philippines meant an encroachment upon their religion and their social practices, Hadji Abdulla Nuño circulated a protest among his people. The movement reached the authorities and Hadji Nuño and his followers were summoned to Manila where the Governor General explained to them the real situation, to the satisfaction of the Moro people.

When the Philippine Legislature was inaugurated in 1916 a delegation headed by the Sultan of Sulu presented a memorial, through the Governor General, to the Legislature in which the datus expressed their gratitude for the material benefits and political privileges accorded to them and for the liberal treatment by the government in matters of public education, health, and public works. They expressed the hope that their fraternal relationship with their Christian brothers might be strengthened. The Mohammedan Senator, Hadji Butu, Abdul Baki, and the Representatives, Datu Piang and Datu Benito, were permitted to take the oath on the Koran. This extraordinary concession gave complete satisfaction to the Moros.²⁰²

The present policy of the Philippine government toward the non-Christian tribes has been presented in brief. It is a continuation of the enterprise so nobly and so heroically begun and carried out by Dean C. Worcester who for twelve years was the Secretary of the Department of Interior. To him and to his faithful and conscientious force must be given credit for the conditions now existing in the non-Christian territories. It can not be argued that heretofore the Filipinos never knew their Mohammedan and pagan brothers: they had no sympathy with them and never even thought of establishing peaceful relations with them. The noble work of Jeff D. Gallman, who a thousand times risked his life in the effort to establish friendship with the head hunters; of Walter F. Hale, who converted the tattooed Kalinggas into efficient soldiers to maintain peace and order; of Bryant, who braved the wilds of Nueva Vizcaya in search of friends; of Samuel E. Kane who linked together the remote

²⁰² *Report of the Governor General, 1916, pp. 77, 84.*

In regard to the power to create or abolish executive departments Congress made a very essential restriction: the Department of Public Instruction with the Vice Governor as its secretary shall remain and shall include the bureau of education and the bureau of health. Likewise the Department of Interior must continue although its bureaus may be reorganized. The bureau of the non-Christian tribes is a creation of Congress although the formulation of policy is left with the local government.

Very much condemned by the American press in Manila is the requirement that the Philippine Senate must approve the appointments made by the Governor General. Critics based their objections on the fear of political buccaneering in the matter of appointments. Fortunately, this matter is transacted in the meeting of the Council of State which takes charge of all promotions and appointments to offices, and the Senate simply stamps its approval.

Formerly the Governor General was also the chairman of the Philippine Commission, the former Senate of the Philippine Legislature. Upon the institution of the Filipino Senate this position was dissolved. His powers, however, are extraordinarily broad. He is the "supreme executive power" in the Philippine government with the general supervision over all the executive departments and bureaus, including the ordinary veto power over legislation and over items in the appropriation bills. As the representative of the United States and the appointee of the President, the Governor General is charged with the duty of executing the laws of the United States applicable to the Islands, and the laws passed by the Philippine Legislature. He may mobilize the local army and militia; suspend the writ of habeas corpus; and call upon the army and navy of the United States to suppress violence or insurrection. With his power to appoint officers the Governor General may place the appointive Senators and Representatives as heads of the departments and thus control the affairs of the government. This is, however, counterbalanced by the power of the Senate over appointments and by the authority of the Legislature to compel testimony from any

government to raise the non-Christians to the level of their Christian fellows. It is expected that the Bureau of the Non-Christian Tribes will ultimately be abolished and the southern and northern provinces will be organized as regular provinces under one law. This aim is being realized every day. The provisions of the Jones Law governing the non-Christian tribes are an excellent reflection of the Congress of the United States. By placing the people under a special bureau and by making the Senators and Representatives appointive, Congress has excluded the affairs of the non-Christians from politics. It is a solemn guarantee to the heroes that the task they so nobly began will be carried on.

The relations which to-day exist between the Moros and the Igorots on the one hand and the Filipinos on the other were never known before, and much less dreamed of. Through contact and through the peaceful achievement of a common education the social and psychological abyss which the centuries have established between the two groups is narrowing itself at an almost incredible speed.

CHECKS AND BALANCES

A brief statement of the system of checks and balances in the Philippine government should be made. As a check upon the broad powers of the Philippine Legislature Congress reserves the power of annulling laws enacted by the local government.²⁰³ The local government may enact laws on every subject but laws on tariff, immigration, public lands, and currency must first be approved by the President before they can be enforced.²⁰⁴ No duties on exports from the Philippines may be levied by the Legislature, and the national indebtedness must not exceed \$15,000,000 exclusive of the friar lands. No province or municipality may incur a liability exceeding seven per cent of its taxable valuation.²⁰⁵

²⁰³ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Sec. 19.

²⁰⁴ The Public Land Law of the Philippines took effect by virtue of the failure of the President to act before the expiration of six months.

²⁰⁵ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. XXXIX, Pt. 1, Ch. 416, Sec. 11.

to note some of the safeguards against politics in the functions which should remain excluded from the probable political corruption. The provision concerning the Department of Public Instruction is a practical guarantee that the work of education must continue in spite of any changes which may be adopted. The law provides that the Vice Governor will continue to be the secretary in charge of this department which includes the bureau of education and the bureau of health. The grouping of education and health under one department is, indeed, a very wise provision. Since the Secretary of Public Instruction is appointed by the President at a fixed compensation that office is practically free from any local control. The Philippine Legislature can exercise restraint on this department only by refusing to appropriate funds for its support.

The same feature is true of the auditing of accounts. The Insular Auditor and the deputy auditor are appointed by the President of the United States at a stated compensation which the Philippine Legislature can not alter. This plan is a guarantee of the independence of the financial system of the Philippine government. The auditors are responsible to the President and not to the Filipino people.

VI

THE HERITAGE OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE

The development of the Filipinos' feeling of nationality is a tragic story, brightened only by the hope that sometime in the future they must see the dawn of the new day. The policy Spain adopted in the Philippines and the means which she used to gain her end were dictated by religious selfishness and political oppression. Desiring to perpetuate the Catholic faith, the Spaniards deluded themselves by the idea that by keeping the Filipinos ignorant of the outside world they could carry out their program with the least opposition. They realized that knowledge is power, and, rather than sacrifice their religious ambition, they determined to isolate the Islands. So, for three hundred and thirty years the Philippines were purposely kept out of the world's influence. Trade with Japan was much restricted, and Chinese immigration was absolutely prohibited. In this manner, the Spaniards succeeded in excluding even the echoes of the struggles of the other people for freedom. The gallant fight of America against the oppression of Great Britain never reached the Filipinos who were laboring under similar conditions. Of the American Indians battling single-handed for a place in their native land they heard not; nor of the repeated revolts of the Spanish colonies in America.

But this was not all! The Spaniards refused to teach certain things. The Filipino who learned to pray and gaze into the heavens for the salvation of his soul must not learn to read the Spanish language lest he should become independent and search for knowledge himself. Nor could he use any book he wished, for the ecclesiastical body of censors passed on all printed matter. The Filipinos suffered exile in their own country for three centuries. They did not know even their own country; but they

knew that they were carrying a burden which must be thrown off at some appropriate time.

OPENING OF THE SUEZ CANAL: THE FIRST MARTYRS

Time brings changes in spite of man's selfish efforts to withhold them. The opening of the Suez Canal made the Cape of Good Hope only a memory in the world of trade and commerce. China, which had been closed for centuries, unlocked her doors to the world. The momentous event placed the Spaniards in the Philippines in a perplexing dilemma—should they open the Philippines and be in touch with the progressive world, or ignore the progressive influences and lose honor among the civilized world. The Spaniards chose the first.

To the Filipino people the opening of the Suez Canal marked a turning point in their history. It opened to them the road to reform. They began to think and their first reflections blossomed into a formal petition to the Courts of Spain and Rome to recover the Filipino secular parishes which the government had taken from them to give to the friars. The church evaded the legitimate claim by charging Father Burgos, the initiator of the petition, with agitation for revolt. The removal of the friars from the parishes, said the church authorities, meant the collapse of the whole religious structure in the Philippines. But when a people reaches the end of their endurance and determines to effect a reform of their condition, the suppression of one movement spells the eruption of another elsewhere in a more drastic form. While the petition was arbitrarily suppressed by the mysterious operation of the church and state, the workers in the Cavite arsenal mutinied. The friars suspected that they were back of the petition and ordered their arrest. No other trials in history were conducted with more mystery. Executions were secret and a comment on them entailed the penalty of death. Father Burgos and two other secular priests, Father Gomez and Father Zamora, gave their lives on the scaffold.

The friars, in so executing Father Burgos, desired to instill a profound fear in the heart of the Filipino people, believing that through fear the movement for reform might be checked. But

just the contrary happened; for the wrongs and injustice which marked the father's mysterious trial set the heart of the Filipino people aflame. It made them braver and more determined. The veil of ignorance which hid the light of day for three hundred years was rent. On February 17, 1872, Father Burgos gave his life so that his people might gain theirs.

PROPAGANDA

In these crucial times the church became the dictator of the officials in the government and even of the Spanish minister. Personal enemies of the friars became the enemies of the government by which they were delivered to the civil guard for execution, and the Filipinos realized that they must conduct a propaganda which would reach the utmost parts of the Philippine Archipelago not only to expose the wrongs and injustice but also to educate the people so that the reform movement might secure the undivided support of the mass. Supported by a few well-to-do Filipinos who were known as *propagandistas*, the ardent patriots published *La Solidaridad*, first under the editorship of Graciano Lopez-Jaena and subsequently under the direction of Marcelo H. del Pilar.

This weekly newspaper sought the following reforms: (1) the abolition of the military form of government, and the establishment of civil government in which the arbitrary powers of the Governor General should be limited by a constitution; (2) the protection of the rights and liberties of the Filipino people; (3) representation of the Philippines in the Cortes of Spain; (4) the establishment of a merit system under which the offices should be filled; (5) the expulsion of the friars or the return of the parishes to secular priests. In reply to these demands the friars contended that the Filipinos were not entitled to such concessions because they were indolent and their education was hopelessly defective. The Filipinos replied that if their education was defective, their teachers or lack of teachers had made it so. To this the friars answered that "the liberties of the Peninsula had cost the Spaniards their precious blood." Notwithstanding this, the Filipinos believed that they must first

educate the common mass in the nature and justness of their cause. To effect this end the propaganda must continue.

Conspicuous among the loyal supporters of *La Solidaridad* was Dr. Jose Rizal y Mercado, the Filipino scholar and hero. He had written many articles for the paper but realizing that it did not produce the desired result, he severed his relations in order that he might enter upon a more profound enterprise with the same end in view. He directed his talents to writing novels which his people might read and thus be guided to orderly action. The first novel he produced was *Noli Me Tangere* (*Social Cancer*). The plot is here reproduced.

The hero is Ibarra, the only son of a wealthy family in Manila, in whose veins ran a mixture of Spanish and Filipino blood. Having had the privilege of education abroad, Ibarra was looked upon by his people as the instrument with which to secure reforms for his country. But unfortunately he did not understand the needs of his people, for when asked by a citizen named Elias for aid to secure the construction of a schoolhouse, Ibarra contended that the people were not ready for such improvement or for any other. The request was later renewed, this time by his sweetheart — personifying the Philippines — the only daughter of a friar in the city. The girl promised to marry him on condition that he build a schoolhouse. To Ibarra this was the least request that could be made to a devoted and wealthy lover, so the building was rushed with all the encouragement of the executive authorities. But the betrothal found an impediment in the father who denounced the engagement of his daughter to a man who would not kiss his hand nor pay such other respects as the public is wont to accord to a divine representative. He arranged the marriage of his daughter to a friar. Madly enraged by this news, Ibarra planned to attack the convent, assassinate the friar lover, and carry his sweetheart away. The plan was executed but the friar was not to be found. Arrests began and many of Ibarra's men fell into the hands of the cruel civil guard. Some in order to escape torture committed suicide. Ibarra himself was being pursued by the guard. The faithful Elias fled with him. He induced Ibarra to go abroad and live

on the money received for his gems and other treasures which he had put away for him. To save Ibarra from the pursuing guards, Elias managed to have them pursue him instead, and so gave his life for the liberator.

The story is continued in the second novel which followed — *El Filibusterismo* (*The Reign of Greed*). Ibarra amassed wealth abroad and under an assumed name became an intimate friend of the Governor of Cuba. Through this influence Ibarra succeeded in securing the transfer of his friend to the Philippine Islands and Ibarra also returned to the Philippines to avenge the wrong done to him personally. He formed another plot. He planned a reception to all the friars and officials in the city and during the occasion the building was to be blown up. But an accomplice betrayed him and the plot was discovered. In his hurried flight Ibarra received a mortal wound, finding shelter in the house of a parish priest, Florentino, who explained to him his mistake.

Abounding in wealth of details, and portraying the picturesque life of the Filipino people made bitter by the injustice of the friars, the novels set up a standard for Filipino patriots. A social reform, in order to succeed, must not be colored by personal ambition as was the plan of Ibarra. A patriot finds an example in the unselfish Elias who gave his life for his country's cause. The story, however, was not read, for its publication was suppressed, but these novels cost Rizal his life.

LA LIGA FILIPINA

In 1892 Rizal convoked a secret meeting to organize the *Liga Filipina*. Before an assemblage of men representing all walks of life he read the rules and regulations which he had drawn. These were unanimously adopted. The ultimate end of the league was the independence of the Philippines from Spain through the following means: promotion of culture by means of study; the encouragement of material development by stimulating industry; unqualified support of *La Solidaridad* as a means of propagating knowledge, especially advanced political ideas; and free assemblages to discuss matters of public impor-

tance. It was also provided that as soon as conditions warranted, the Filipino people would rise in armed rebellion for the independence of the Philippines.

Those who witnessed the birth of the society declared their unqualified allegiance and support in a peculiar ceremony. Before a human skull every man most solemnly took his oath to support the league and the cause for which it stood, and after kissing the skull each signed the document with his own blood obtained by making an incision in the arm. The skull symbolized death, which to the initiated meant that they were willing to give their life. Membership in the league imposed the duty of propaganda by every means possible. It was absolute denial of self and blind obedience to the superiors. Above all every member must exercise impenetrable silence under penalty of death.²⁰⁶

This was the organization which Rizal had instituted before his deportation to Dapitan. Through mismanagement of its funds the league was dissolved. It was reestablished later by its ardent supporters, but was again dissolved, to be followed by the famous Katipunan.

THE KATIPUNAN

La Liga Filipina was dissolved after the deportation of Dr. Rizal to Dapitan. It was reorganized later by Andres Bonifacio, Domingo Franca, and others. As instituted then the purpose of the league was to collect funds for the support of *La Solidaridad* and otherwise to support the organ in order to maintain the propaganda for the cause of the Philippines. But because of doubts as to its good results, enhanced by the threats and risks under which the few loyal patriots labored, the league was dissolved, to be succeeded by *Ang Kataastaasan Kagalanggalang Katipunan Mga Anak nang Bayan* (The Sovereign Worshipful Association of the Sons of the Soil), under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio.²⁰⁷

Within a year the membership of the Katipunan had extended

²⁰⁶ St. Clair's *The Katipunan* (Manila, 1902), pp. 26-31.

²⁰⁷ On November 30, 1919, the Filipinos of Manila celebrated the birth of Andres Bonifacio, and a brass tablet was placed in the house where the

from all over Manila to Cavite and Bulacan. The reform society was organized secretly. In August, 1896, the *Diario de Manila* discovered that its employees were members of some secret society. Without any preliminary investigation sweeping arrests of the suspects were started, not even excluding the Freemasons. Believing that the movement must be engineered by the educated class further arrests were made. Sentences were swift as they were secret, and barbarous tortures were employed to extract confession, while many were smothered in the dark cell. It was during this time that Dr. Rizal was executed, an act which intensified the bitterness of the Filipino people toward the Spaniards, and made the opposition to the wrongs and injustice more united and national. The execution was based on no evidence but on mere suspicion that had it not been for Rizal's novels and articles in *La Solidaridad* the Filipino people would not have dreamed of any political reform.

Andres Bonifacio was compelled to take to the mountains with his staff and there organized an army against the civil guard that was pursuing him. Under the command of Captain Emilio Aguinaldo the *Katipuneros* were able to maintain their post. This struggle marks the beginning of the Philippine Revolution in which 35,000 armed Spaniards proved inferior to the imperfectly organized Filipino troops with not more than six hundred rifles. The war was quelled by the Treaty of Biac-na-bato concluded December 14, 1897, in which Governor General Primo de Rivera agreed to pay \$400,000 to Aguinaldo provided he and his

first meeting of the Katipunan was held. The following was the inscription:

“The Filipino People

Through the durability of this metal
Consecrate and perpetuate
The historical value of this house,
Cradle of the popular revindications,
Where on July 6, 1892,
Was born to fight and triumph
Under the leadership of Andres Bonifacio
The highest and most respectable association
Of the sons of the soil,
The ‘KATIPUNAN’ ”

staff would leave for Singapore. Furthermore, the Spanish government agreed to the following conditions: to expel the friars and restore the lands held by them in the towns; to recognize the Filipino clergy; to recognize religious freedom, freedom of the press, and equality of persons; to abolish the deportation of Filipinos; and to allow representation in the Cortes of Spain.²⁰⁸

Whatever significance may be attributed to the *Liga Filipina* or to the *Katipunan* it must be admitted that the society marked the birth of an idea rather than of an institution. The *Katipunan* was an offshoot of the *Liga Filipina* and while it differed somewhat from its mother society it was organized to support the principles which the league had advanced. The changes that were effected were due to the new conditions of the time. The father of the *Katipunan*, Andres Bonifacio, was a profound student of history. Those who were well acquainted with the reformer testify that Bonifacio would pass many a night reading and his mind was so influenced that he was sometimes called the Filipino Don Quixote. He read much on the French revolution and naturally his reforms were aimed at a Philippine Commune equal to that of the French.

Besides giving expression to the Filipinos' aspiration for a unified nationality, the *Katipunan* was also the origin of that national symbol which to-day flies beside the Stars and Stripes — the Tricolor of the Filipino people. Pantaleon Torres, a prominent Katipunero, relates that the Filipino flag originated from the symbol of the *Katipunan*. The insignia of the society was a triangle signifying the three divisions of the Philippine Archipelago — Luzon, Visayas, and Mindanao. Where the rising sun is on the flag there used to be a K signifying the *Katipunan*, surrounded by sixteen sun rays which represented the Supreme Council of sixteen members. The red, white, and blue was adopted from the French tri-color.

During its life from 1892-1896 the *Katipunan* experienced repeated dissolution and rebirth. Each time it revived it assumed a somewhat different aspect according to conditions, but

²⁰⁸ Report of the Philippine Commission, 1900, Vol. I, p. 170.

it maintained its political nature. It was re-instituted in 1906 but gradually dwindled away to extinction.²⁰⁹ The organ has vanished, but the idea is stronger than ever. It will not rise again for its need is past but its tradition has lodged in the soul of every Filipino. By virtue of the *Katipunan* the Filipino people, seemingly divided into groups, have found a common cause for which they have offered their best.

THE PRATT-AGUINALDO ALLIANCE: THE LOST CAUSE

During the war in Cuba there were in Singapore a number of Filipino political exiles who were eagerly watching the development of events especially with regard to the probable conflict between the "Great North American Republic" and Spain. Here developed the tacit alliance between United States Consul Spencer Pratt at Singapore and General Emilio Aguinaldo—the historical incident which will forever be remembered in the annals of the Philippine history.

General Aguinaldo arrived in Singapore on April 21, 1898, the day when the United States declared war with Spain to liberate oppressed Cuba. Only two days elapsed before Mr. Pratt learned that Aguinaldo was sojourning *incognito* in Singapore, and "being aware of the great prestige of General Aguinaldo with the insurgents, and that no one, either at home or abroad, could exert over them the same influence and control that he could", he determined at once to see him.²¹⁰ A "secret inter-

²⁰⁹ The oath adopted in 1906 was as follows:

"By the name of the Supreme Bathala and in the presence of his image and of all the brethren of the K K K as well as of the sons of the country I swear from the innermost of my heart to love and obey everything that is set forth in the doctrine of the K K K of the sons of the country that has been read to me and which I find to be unquestionable. I promise and swear to observe, obey and follow the United States of America and that I will never forswear myself.

And in testimony of this oath and promise, I sign it with the blood drawn from my breast and over my heart."—*Cablenews-American*, September 1, 1907, p. 3.

²¹⁰ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 341; see Blount's *American Occupation of the Philippines*, Chs. I, II.

view" was arranged in which Howard W. Bray, "Aguinaldo's Englishman", who left the Islands on account of the revolution, acted as the interpreter. What transpired in the interview is well portrayed in the columns of *The Singapore Free Press* of May 4, 1898, which read, in part, as follows:

During the conference, at which Mr. Bray acted as interpreter, General Aguinaldo explained to the American consul-general, Mr. Pratt, the incidents and objects of the late rebellion, and described the present disturbed state of the country. General Aguinaldo then proceeded to detail the nature of the coöperation he could give, in which he, in the event of American forces from the squadron landing and taking possession of Manila, would guarantee to maintain order and discipline among the native troops and inhabitants in the humane way in which he had hitherto conducted the war, and prevent them from committing outrages on defenseless Spaniards beyond the inevitable in fair and honorable warfare. He further declared his ability to establish a proper and responsible government on liberal principles, and would be willing to accept the same terms for the country as the United States intend giving Cuba.

General Aguinaldo's policy embraces the independence of the Philippines, where internal affairs would be controlled under European and American advisers. American protection would be desirable temporarily, on the same lines as that which might be instituted hereafter in Cuba. The ports of the Philippines would be free to the trade of the world complete reform of the present corrupt judicature the right of public meeting general religious toleration abolition and expulsion of the tyrannical religious fraternities who have laid such strong hands on every branch of civil administration. . . . Full provision . . . for the exploitation of the natural resources and wealth of the country by roads and railways. . . . The preservation of public safety and order. . . .²¹¹

The consul general of the United States, approving the general views expressed during the discussion, telegraphed to Admiral Dewey: "Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, here. Will come Hong-kong arrange with Commodore for general coöperation insurgents Manila if desired. Telegraph". Admiral Dewey replied, "Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible."²¹²

²¹¹ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 345.

²¹² *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 342.

Mr. Pratt had a busy time securing transportation for Aguinaldo and his staff under assumed names, but being compelled to remove his squadron from neutral waters, Admiral Dewey departed before the party could arrive. It was not until May 16, 1898, that Mr. Wildman, United States consul at Hongkong, succeeded in putting Aguinaldo on board the *McCulloch* for Manila. They arrived there three days later.

It is now proper to consider what the Filipinos themselves were doing and in what frame of mind they were all this time. Before Admiral Dewey had arrived in Manila Bay the Filipinos at Singapore forwarded a manifesto to Manila with this heading, "AMERICA'S ALLIES — THE MANIFESTO OF THE FILIPINOS." Parts of the manifesto read as follows:

COMPATRIOTS: Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach. . . .

The Americans not from mercenary motives but for the sake of humanity and the lamentations of so many persecuted people, have considered it opportune to extend this protecting mantle to our beloved country, now that they have been obliged to sever relations with Spain, owing to the tyranny this nation is exercising in Cuba. . . .

At the present moment an American squadron is preparing to sail for the Philippines.

We . . . are very much afraid that you may be induced to fire on the Americans. No, brothers, never make this mistake. Rather blow your own brains out than fire a shot or treat as enemies those who are your liberators. . . .

Take note, the Americans will attack by sea . . . we insurgents must attack by land. . . .

There, where you see the American flag flying, assemble in numbers; they are our redeemers.

Our unworthy names are as nothing, but one and all of us invoke the name of the patriot our country has seen, in the sure and certain hope that his spirit will be with us in those moments and guide us to victory — our immortal Jose Rizal.²¹³

How the Filipinos took to this proclamation was described as follows by Oscar F. Williams, American consul in Manila, in his letter to the State Department on May 12, 1898:

²¹³ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 346.

To aid you, if possible, permit me to give assurance of the friendliness of the Philippine natives to our country and to me as its representative. . . . I last week went on shore at Cavite with British consul, in his launch, to show the destruction wrought by our fleet. As soon as the natives found me out, they crowded around me, hats off, shouting, "Viva los Americanos," thronged about me by hundreds to shake either hand, even several at a time, men, women, and children striving to get even a finger to shake. So I moved half a mile, shaking continuously with both hands. . . .²¹⁴

Mr. Pratt gave the same testimony in his letter to Secretary Day on June 2, 1898, although he seemed to have some personal motive as may be seen from the following quotation:

Considering the enthusiastic manner General Aguinaldo has been received by the natives and the confidence with which he already appears to have inspired Admiral Dewey, it will be admitted, I think, that I did not overrate his importance and that I have materially assisted the cause of the United States in the Philippines in securing his coöperation.²¹⁵

The attitude of mind in which Aguinaldo and his staff were in upon landing in Manila may be shown by some correspondence with the American representatives, always bearing in mind what had transpired in the "secret interview". On June 11, 1898, Mr. Pratt wrote Aguinaldo:

I wrote fully to Admiral Dewey concerning you, and to the American people have pointed out that you and you alone were equal to the occasion.

From Consul General Wildman at Hongkong Aguinaldo received this message, dated June 25th:

I have vouched for your honesty and earnestness of purpose to the President of the United States and to our own people, and they are ready to extend their hand to you as a brother and aid you in every laudable ambition. I give you my assurance that you can always call upon me to act as your champion should any try to slander your name.

Do not forget that the United States undertook this war for the sole purpose of relieving the Cubans from the cruelties under which they were suffering, and not for the love of conquest or the hope of gain. They are actuated by precisely the same feelings toward the Filipinos. Whatever the final disposition toward the conquered territory may be, you can trust the

²¹⁴ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 327.

²¹⁵ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 347.

United States that justice and honor will control all their dealings with you.²¹⁶

This was diplomatic encouragement for Aguinaldo as if to say, "Go to it, my man, and lick the Spaniards while the army is rushed across the Pacific", and Mr. Wildman carefully refrained from discouraging Aguinaldo.

The Filipinos, thirty thousand strong, hailed Aguinaldo when he landed in Cavite. Five days later Consul Williams reported to Secretary Day that "37,000 insurgents stand ready to aid the United States forces, and General Aguinaldo's headquarters were this A. M. at 7 o'clock surrounded by 500 to 1,000 men eager to enlist. I was there at that hour and saw the men."²¹⁷

Such was the attitude of the Filipino people and their enthusiastic coöperation with the United States. Their expectations were, indeed, obvious as to the disposition of the Philippines. They received the diplomatic encouragement of the American consuls.

It is unfortunate that Admiral Dewey was not summoned to report on his relations with Aguinaldo until a long time had elapsed, when the memories of the years had become dim. Four years later, before the Senate committee, Admiral Dewey appeared to testify concerning the information which had come to the Senate pertaining to Aguinaldo and the revolution. The Admiral began thus:

Aguinaldo came to see me. I said, "Well, now, go ashore there, we have got our force at the arsenal at Cavite, go ashore and start your army." He came back in the course of a few hours and said, "I want to leave here; I want to go to Japan." I said, "Don't give it up, Don Emilio." I wanted his help you know. He did not sleep ashore that night; he slept on board the ship. The next morning he went on shore, still inside my lines, and began recruiting men.²¹⁸

The Senate committee wanted to know the exact relations

²¹⁶ *Congressional Record*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, p. 4287 (April 17, 1900).

²¹⁷ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 329.

²¹⁸ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXV, Document No. 331, Pt. 3, p. 2928.

which existed between Aguinaldo and Mr. Pratt. It is rather curious to note that the Admiral repeatedly said, "I did not attach any importance to it."²¹⁹

A member of the committee seemed to have sensed this, for we read in the report:²²⁰

Admiral Dewey: "I do not think it makes any difference what my opinion is on these things."

Senator Patterson: "There is no man whose opinion goes further with the country than yours does, Admiral, and therefore I think you ought to be prudent in expressing your view."

Senator Beveridge (Acting Chairman): "The chairman will not permit any member to lecture Admiral Dewey on his prudence or his imprudence."

Senator Patterson: "I was not lecturing him."

Senator Beveridge: "Yes, you said he ought to be prudent."

Senator Patterson: "And I think it was well enough to suggest those things."

Admiral Dewey declared that he had used the Filipinos as the Federal troops used the negroes during the Civil War, upon which Senator Patterson replied that the negroes were slaves and the Filipinos were expecting freedom. The Admiral testified that the Filipinos were slaves, too, who looked upon him as their liberator. Then why did the Admiral say that "these people (Filipinos) are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races", adding later, "Further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion"?²²¹ Would a representative of a powerful nation make an alliance with slaves? Admiral Dewey could certainly not associate Filipino aspirations with the freedom of the slaves.

While the United States troops were speeding across the Pacific the Filipino troops kept the Spaniards hemmed within the Walled City on ever shortening rations. "Under our guns",

²¹⁹ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXV, Document No. 331, Pt. 3, p. 2948.

²²⁰ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXV, Document No. 331, Pt. 3, p. 2965.

²²¹ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 383.

and united by the thought of "Cuba libre", the Filipinos "whipped the Spaniards battle after battle."²²² Every Filipino that fell was a life laid down for an American. "He (Aguinaldo) was most obedient", declared the Admiral before the committee. "Up to the time the army came he did everything I requested."²²³ The general impression given the Filipinos was, "We intend to whip the Spaniards and set you free."²²⁴ The Filipinos captured thousands of Spaniards and Admiral Dewey turned over to Aguinaldo his prisoners for care. Under these circumstances the Admiral could not but attach importance to the cause of the Filipino people. Furthermore, Aguinaldo was very closely watched by Admiral Dewey, Consul Williams, and his own junta in Hongkong, and Consul Williams wrote Secretary Day on August 4, 1898:

It has been my study to keep on pleasant terms with General Aguinaldo for ultimate objects. By so doing I have avoided certain troubles and aided our forces. Admiral Dewey says I have planted the seeds of cordial cooperation.²²⁵

But man forgets and Admiral Dewey did "not remember having said that."²²⁶

A reader of the proceedings of the Senate committee receives two impressions: either Admiral Dewey could not remember, for it was four years ago; or he was reserved in his statement. So it is not surprising that the situation did not get any clearer, and has remained so to the present time. It will probably never be clarified to the complete satisfaction of future historians.

²²² *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXV, Document No. 331, Pt. 3, p. 2928.

²²³ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXV, Document No. 331, Pt. 3, p. 2956.

²²⁴ *Congressional Record*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, p. 4288 (April 17, 1900).

²²⁵ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 331.

²²⁶ *Senate Documents*, 57th Congress, 1st Session, Vol. XXV, Document No. 331, Pt. 3, p. 2951.

While the Filipino forces were engaged in these battles, the climax of the story was transpiring in Singapore. The Filipinos in Singapore paid their respects to Consul Pratt after the victories of Aguinaldo. What took place on this occasion is well portrayed in the *Singapore Free Press* of June 9, 1898, and in the *Straits Times* of the same date, copies of which Mr. Pratt forwarded to the State Department "with duplicates for the press should you consider their publication desirable."

A little after five in the afternoon, says the press, representatives of the Filipino residents in Singapore waited upon Consul General Pratt at his residence in Raffles Hotel. Their purpose was to present an address congratulating the consul on the success of the Americans and to express their gratitude for the protection which the United States gave their national cause. Among the prominent people present were W. G. St. Clair, editor of the *Singapore Free Press*, and A. Reid, editor of the *Straits Times*. Wearing the badge of the *Liga Filipina*, which Aguinaldo had presented him, Mr. Pratt appeared before the delegation. Mr. Bray, also wearing the badge, presented the delegation to the consul and Dr. Santos, the spokesman of the Filipinos, addressed the American representative in French, speaking in part as follows:²²⁷

Sir: The Filipino colony resident in this port, composed of representatives of all social classes, have come to present their respects to you as the legitimate representative of the great and powerful American Republic, in order to express our eternal gratitude for the moral and material protection extended by Admiral Dewey to our trusted leader Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, who has been driven to take up arms in the name of 8,000,000 Filipinos in defense of those very principles of justice and liberty, of which your country is the foremost champion.

Our countrymen, at home, and those of us residing here, refugees from Spanish misrule and tyranny in our native land, hope that the United States, your nation, persevering in its humane policy, will efficaciously second the program arranged between you, sir, and General Aguinaldo in this port of Singapore, and secure to us our independence under the protection of the United States.

Our warmest thanks are especially due to you, sir, personally, for having

²²⁷ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, pp. 350-353.

been the first to cultivate relations with General Aguinaldo and arrange for his coöperation with Admiral Dewey, thus supporting our aspirations which time and subsequent actions have developed and caused to meet with the applause and approbation of your nation.

After listening to the address Mr. Pratt also speaking in French replied:

Gentlemen, the honor you have conferred upon me is so unexpected that I can not find appropriate words with which to thank you and with which to reply. . . . Rest assured, though, that I fully understand and sincerely appreciate the motives that have prompted your present action and that your words, which have sunk deep in my heart, shall be faithfully repeated to the President, to Admiral Dewey, and to the American people — from whom I am sure that they will meet with full and generous response. A little over a month ago the world resounded with the praises of Admiral Dewey and his fellow-officers and men for a glorious victory won by the American Asiatic Squadron in the Bay of Manila. Now we have the news of the brilliant achievements of your own distinguished leader, Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo, coöperating on land with the Americans at sea. You have just reason to be proud of what has been and is being accomplished by General Emilio Aguinaldo and your fellow-countrymen under his command. When six weeks ago I learned that General Aguinaldo had arrived incognito in Singapore, I immediately sought him out. An hour's interview convinced me that he was the man for the occasion; and having communicated with Admiral Dewey, I accordingly arranged for him to join the latter, which he did, at Cavite. The rest you know.

I am thankful to have been the means, though incidental means, of bringing about the arrangement between General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey, which has resulted so happily. I can only hope that the eventful outcome will be all that can be desired for the happiness and the welfare of the Filipinos.

After Mr. Pratt's speech Dr. Santos, addressing his *paisanos*, made some complimentary remarks about the keen foresight of the consul. He further expressed his desire to have an American flag as a token of the patriotic occasion. Gladly complying with the request Mr. Pratt presented the flag saying:

This flag was borne in battle, and is the emblem of that liberty that you are seeking to attain. Its red stripes represent the blood that was shed for the cause; the white represents the purity of the motive; the blue field stands for the azure of the sky; the stars are the free and independent States of the Union. Take the flag and keep it as a souvenir of the occasion.

Dr. Santos received it most reverently and waving it amidst cheers said to Mr. Pratt it would be preserved for future generations to look upon.

Amidst successive *vivas* the assemblage cheered the President of the United States, Consul General Pratt, Admiral Dewey, General Aguinaldo, and England, the "nation hospitaliere", after which the consul retired to listen to the serenade of the Filipino band.

Mr. Pratt kept the State Department informed by cable and this was followed by correspondence. The first news the consul received from the State Department was, "Avoid unauthorized negotiations with Philippine insurgents", to which he replied: "No intention negotiate. Left that Dewey who desired Aguinaldo come."

These telegraphic exchanges were dated June 17th, and the State Department also sent a letter to the consul regarding his telegraphic communications, but when he received this no one knows. Furthermore, these exchanges took place after the patriotic demonstration for Mr. Pratt when things had developed to the highest point. Among other things, the official letter said:

To obtain the unconditional personal assistance of General Aguinaldo in the expedition to Manila was proper, if in so doing he was not induced to form hopes which might not be practicable to gratify.²²⁸

Obviously the State Department was not aware of the events which were developing on the other side of the sea, and did not find reason to question Mr. Pratt's dealings until the receipt of the *Straits Times* which described the patriotic rally. Shocked by the speeches the Department wrote Mr. Pratt:

The extract communicated by you from the *Straits Times* of the 9th of June has occasioned a feeling of disquietude and a doubt as to whether some of your acts may not have borne a significance and produced an impression which this government would be compelled to regret.

The address presented to you by the twenty-five or thirty Filipinos who gathered about the consulate discloses an understanding on their part that the object of Admiral Dewey was to support the cause of General Aguinaldo.

²²⁸ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, pp. 354, 355.

aldo, and that the ultimate object of our action is to secure the independence of the Philippines "under the protection of the United States."

Your address does not repeal this implication, and it moreover represents that General Aguinaldo was "sought out by you", whereas it has been the understanding of the Department that you received him only upon the request of a British subject named Bray who formerly lived in the Philippines. Your further reference to General Aguinaldo as "the man for the occasion" and to your "bringing about" the "arrangement" between "General Aguinaldo and Admiral Dewey which has resulted so happily", also represents the matter in a light which causes apprehension lest your action may have laid ground for future complications.

For these reasons the Department has not caused the article to be given to the press, lest it might seem thereby to lend a sanction to views the expression of which it had not authorized.²²⁹

The fear of the State Department for "future complications" was like a prophecy. It is not the purpose of this monograph to recall the blunders of the past and thus revive the profound disappointment and the unspeakable bitterness which overwhelmed the Filipino people in 1898. In the light of these documents the war between the Americans and the Filipinos was not a part of the Spanish-American War: it was a separate war by itself. The misunderstanding was as unfortunate as it was unnecessary, but the Filipinos could not be blamed for the stand they took. They felt they had been tricked, deceived, duped, and deprived of their legitimate and natural rights and liberties, of which "the United States of the North is a foremost champion"; and all this happened because of Mr. Pratt's seeking Aguinaldo. How one man can change the history of a nation!²³⁰ The Filipinos fought for the Americans; and when the troops arrived in June the war was over. Because of the long distance which was made doubly long by the notoriously slow mail, the authorities at Washington were unavoidably ig-

²²⁹ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 357.

²³⁰ In his book, *The Filipino Martyrs*, Ch. V, Richard Sheridan, B. M. P., an eye witness of the happenings during the year assigns the negotiation with Aguinaldo to Admiral Dewey. Consul Pratt caused the misunderstanding and Admiral Dewey complicated it.

norant of the details of the events across the waters until they had developed too far. It seems, however, that in one instance, especially since it took place after the collapse of Mr. Pratt, the State Department could have gone a step further in its instruction to Consul Williams in Manila.

On the same day that the Department of State was reading the story of the Filipinos' visit to Mr. Pratt at Singapore, Consul Williams in Manila was writing to Secretary Day, describing the successive victories of Aguinaldo's forces. Among other things the consul said, "Last Sunday, 12th, they held a council to form a provisional government. I was urged to attend but thought best to decline." In reply to this the Department wrote, "Your course, while maintaining amicable relations with the insurgents, in abstaining from any participation in their adoption of their so-called provisional government, is approved."²³¹ Having fully understood the real situation why did not the State Department go a step more in the instruction, and discourage Aguinaldo from entertaining his hopes? This letter was dated August 4, 1898, and the war with the Filipinos did not break out until February, 1899.

When the United States troops landed in Cavite General Aguinaldo had already promulgated a declaration that the Philippines were independent and forwarded a copy to Admiral Dewey who sent it to the State Department without reading it. The opinion of another official who was not connected with the plan may throw some light on the contested subject. When General Anderson called on Aguinaldo in company with Admiral Dewey, the Filipino chief asked him whether "the United States of the North" had recognized the independence of the Philippines.²³² "I am not quite sure", General Anderson continues, "as to the form of the question, whether it was 'had' or 'would'. In either form it was embarrassing." But because he was "trying to contract with the Filipinos for horses, carts, fuel

²³¹ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, pp. 329, 330.

²³² *Congressional Record*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, p. 4289 (April 17, 1900).

and forage", General Anderson evaded the question to the displeasure of Aguinaldo. The Filipino general then remarked, "I have studied attentively the Constitution of the United States and I find in it no authority for colonies, and I have no fear." Add to this Admiral Dewey's statement himself to Aguinaldo that "we were honorable and having plenty of land, desired no colonies", and the reason for the war is seen. General Anderson continues:

Whether Admiral Dewey, Consuls Pratt, Wildman, and Williams did or did not give Aguinaldo assurances that the Philippine government would be recognized, the Filipinos certainly thought so, probably inferring this from their acts rather than their statement.

The common saying was, "We intend to free you from Spain." Whatever this might mean the Filipinos felt assured that their program would receive the recognition of the United States. It may be observed that if General Anderson had perceived the situation a few days after his arrival how could Admiral Dewey afford to repeat: "I did not attach any importance to it"? "I wanted his (Aguinaldo's) help, you know." This "ultimate object" seemed to have drowned the consideration of other things; and this was just what hurt the Filipinos. Admiral Dewey desired Aguinaldo to whip the Spaniards so that the United States army could "march in". They did "march in" for the Filipino troops kept the common enemy bottled up in the Walled City.

General Anderson relates an incident which deserves mention because of its singularity. At a banquet given by the Filipino officers to the American officials in the city of Manila, toasts and speeches were given by the army and navy officials. One of them said that the United States had come not to make the Filipinos slaves but freemen. A singular spectacle followed. All the Filipinos rose to their feet and Buencamino, raising his glass of wine, said, "We wish to be baptized in that sentiment." So saying every one poured his wine over his head.

Then came General Merritt, a man who was more of a soldier than a diplomat, with instruction to avoid the Filipinos. Conditions changed as if overnight. The general, instead of tempo-

rizing, deliberately ignored the Filipinos and turned a deaf ear to their cause. He not only refused the coöperation of the Filipino forces but ordered the Filipinos to remove from the city of Manila. Had General Merritt exercised the least diplomacy with the Filipinos, the American occupation of the Philippines would have been spotless.

The opening of hostilities between the Americans and the Filipinos on February 4, 1899, added a chapter to the history of the Filipino people. It changed the destiny of the ten million Filipinos, for what might have been their story had America left the Islands to them as could have been done under the circumstances? But Consul Pratt had arranged it and the war broke out. On those who fought for them the American soldiers turned their guns and slaughtered them by the thousands. The homes that received them were reduced to ashes, and province after province was devastated. The mere statement of the facts is sufficient.

A question has been raised as to whether the Philippine Republic which General Aguinaldo organized had really the support of the Filipino people. Instead of relying upon the opinion of a Filipino, the words of General MacArthur on this phase of the problem may be quoted:

When I first started in against these rebels, I believed that Aguinaldo's troops represented only a faction. I did not like to believe that the whole population on Luzon—the native population, that is—were opposed to us and our offers of aid and good government. But after having come this far, after having occupied several towns and cities in succession, and having been brought much in contact with both insurrectos and amigos, I have been reluctantly compelled to believe that the Filipino masses are loyal and devoted to Aguinaldo and the government which he heads.²²³

The fact that Aguinaldo was dictator did not necessarily mean that he imposed his authority upon an unwilling people. A dictatorship happens in every revolution. What he might have done had his Philippine Republic been recognized is another question, but in one instance Aguinaldo said that as soon

²²³ *Congressional Record*, 56th Congress, 1st Session, p. 4288 (April 17, 1900).

as peace was established he would resign the temporarily assumed authority.

Speculation in America as to the proper disposition of the Philippines began even before the United States army had left the port of San Francisco. One day in June, Aguinaldo came across the *Singapore Times* for May 5th in which was an article intimating that the United States would retain the Islands until the war was over, and then if Spain failed to pay the indemnity, would sell them to Great Britain. Aguinaldo communicated at once with the President of the United States through his friend, Mr. Bray of Singapore. It appears, however, that something mysterious happened to the correspondence, for in forwarding it Mr. Bray noted that an enclosed telegram and "other documents" had "been extracted from the cover during transit." Whatever those "other documents" might be which Mr. Bray never found, Aguinaldo's letter was a strong protest against the proposed disposal of the Philippines.²³⁴

On the other hand the *London Spectator* urged that the United States retain the Islands in order to maintain the "balance of power" in the Far East. England had already too much and Germany must not be encouraged in her designs upon China. Russia must be kept away from Australia, and Russia and France must be kept apart. It could not be conceived, asserted the *Spectator*, that a pagan nation like Japan should rule a Christian people like the Filipinos. As to the maintenance of peace and order, the *Spectator* would recommend five thousand negro troops for the Philippines.

It is needless to say that the proposal aroused the opposition of the Filipino people especially because of the suggestion that negro troops should be stationed to keep peace and order. Had this recommendation been acted upon, the American occupation of the Philippines would have been more than sensational.

Mr. Bray saw the article, and in reply urged neither the sale

²³⁴ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, pp. 359-361.

of the Islands nor their occupation by the United States, but an independent Philippines under American protectorate.²³⁵

Now let us examine the opinion of an American authority, Consul Williams of Manila. Two days after the United States army had landed at Cavite Consul Williams forwarded a special correspondence to Secretary Day, urging American emigration to the Philippines. Mr. Williams urged an influx of 10,000 ambitious Americans representing all trades and occupations that year for all "can live well, become enriched, and patriotically assist your representatives in the establishment and maintenance of republican government."²³⁶

The signing of the Treaty of Paris on December 10, 1898, closed the Spanish-American War. The Filipinos lost the cause which they thought they would surely gain by the fraternal aid of the United States. They were destined to undergo another period of tutelage and make their way to independent statehood through industry and peaceful progress. The dark era ended and the epoch of free ideas and liberalism began.

RIZAL'S LEGACY

A consideration of the Filipinos' struggle for freedom under the oppressive yoke of Spain would be incomplete without reference to the unselfish labors of the most revered Filipino hero — Dr. Jose Rizal.

Under an arbitrary government wherein the freedom of speech was totally repressed, to criticize the government brought the doom of a critic. Rizal was one of those few Filipinos of his time who desired to see a better governed Philippines. Having been educated in Europe and had the privilege of travel all over the world, Rizal saw the backwardness of his country. His wish was to raise the Filipino people to a higher plane through progressive and timely action of the Spanish government. He was the severest critic the Philippines have

²³⁵ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, pp. 348-350.

²³⁶ *Senate Documents*, 55th Congress, 3rd Session, Vol. VIII, Document No. 62, Pt. 2, p. 331.

ever produced, but his criticism was honest and well meant. As he said, criticism is to a government what a symptom of a disease is to an individual. It is a fair warning which calls for immediate action. This was Rizal's attitude toward the Spanish government and because he spoke thus he was executed in spite of unspoken public opposition. This is the core of Rizal's heroism.

Rizal's labors were directed toward the independence of the Philippines. This was the ultimate object of the *Liga Filipina* which he organized; but he said, "I place as prior condition the education of the people". This was his theory and when he wrote he had this idea dominant in mind. In *Noli Me Tangere* Rizal said that he was speaking not to the people of his time but to the coming generation. When the Philippines were seething with revolution, Rizal was charged with being the instigator. Replying to this he wrote to his "Countrymen" saying:

I have given proofs that I am one of the most anxious for the liberties of our country, and I am still desirous of them. But I place as a prior condition the education of the people, that by means of instruction and industry our country may have an individuality of its own and make itself worthy of these liberties. I have recommended in my writings the study of civic virtues, without which there is no redemption.²²⁷

A propaganda which has for its slogan the progress and development of a people through peaceful means should entail no dangerous results. In spite of this the Spanish government decreed that Rizal was a filibuster and must be executed. The Filipinos to-day are blessed with the bill of rights which guarantees their personal liberties: that no person shall be deprived of life or liberty without due process of law; that in all cases the accused must be accorded speedy and public trial; that he be informed of the accusation made against him and have a compulsory process of obtaining counsel in his favor. Not one of these was granted to Rizal. The fundamental principle that the accused is presumed innocent until proved guilty was not even recognized, for before the victim had arrived the sentence was practically decided. The court room was full of his enemies

²²⁷ See Craig's *The Life and Lineage of Jose Rizal*.

clamoring for his execution. So, on December 30, 1896, Jose Rizal stood before a firing squad and received the fatal bullet which took away the life of one of the most unselfish of men. Because of its gross injustice, the Filipino people were driven to desperation. Instead of inculcating fear as the Spaniards expected the execution made the Filipinos all the more united in their hatred and bitterness against the wrongs committed before their very eyes.

Thus fell the most consecrated hero of the Filipino people. The man is no more but his spirit lives in every Filipino heart, nay, it is the North Star which guides to the future Philippine Republic. Ever since his days the growth of free and liberal ideas has been the dominant feature in the history of the Philippines. Rizal accomplished the one supreme need of the Filipino people. Among his disunited countrymen he produced a common patriotism and a spirit of nationality which have made the Filipinos determined to set their foot on the right road to progress and development. His prize poem, "To the Philippine Youth",²³⁸ had "Growth" for a theme. This theory has found a responsive chord in the younger generation of to-day. Progress through education is the slogan of the Filipino youth and

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TO THE PHILIPPINE YOUTH

Theme: Growth

(Translated by Charles Derbyshire)

Hold high thy brow serene,
O youth, where now you stand;
Let the bright sheen
Of your grace be seen,
Fair hope of my fatherland.

Come now, thou genius grand,
And bring down inspiration;
With thy mighty hand
Swifter than the wind's volation,
Raise the eager mind to higher station.

Come down with pleasing light
Of art and science to the fight,
O youth, and there untie
The chains that heavy lie
Your spirit free to blight.

to that extent they support Rizal's ideal with vigor and loyalty. Rizal taught the youths that self-respect and self-control were prerequisites to a freer and more wisely governed country. Every day brightens the hope of the Filipino people. The Filipinos look forward to the day when their Philippines shall be to the Orient as England is to Europe or the United States to the Americas; and judging from the trend of the Philippine civilization to-day all evidences are in their favor. Occidental liberalism and institutions are being inculcated in the Philippines. These are bound to be the future ideals of the Oriental Republic. Especially is the situation very encouraging when to-day free education is the national pride of the Filipino people. The Filipinos are aware that they will gain much by

See how in flaming zone
Amid the shadows thrown,
The Spaniards' holy land
A crown's resplendent hand
Proffers to this Indian land.

Thou who now wouldst rise
On wings of rich emprise,
Seeking from Olympian skies
Songs of sweetest strain,
Softer than ambrosial rain;

Thou whose voice divine
Rivals Philomel's refrain,
And with varied line
Through the night benign
Frees mortality from pain;

Thou who by sharp strife
Wakest the mind to life;
And the memory bright
Of thy genius' light
Makest immortal in its strength

And thou in accents clear
Of Phoebus, to Appelles dear;
Or by the brushes' magic art
Takest from nature's store a part,
To fix it on the simple canvas length;

learning, for instance, the most universal language — the English language.

On August 13, 1898, the Spanish flag was lowered in the Philippines to be supplanted by the Stars and Stripes, the emblem of liberalism. The Filipino people, not unmindful of Rizal's statement that "those of you who live to see the dawn of the new day should not be forgetful of those who fell during the night", dedicated the first number of the Filipino papers issued under the American flag to Rizal. December 30th is a legal holiday in the Philippines when the Filipino people pay tribute to the man who died that they might live.

The lessons which they learned by experience are the national heritage of the Filipino people. The régime of Spain has made them resentful and bitter against any wrong and injustice committed by a government. The Filipinos have sacrificed too many precious lives to give up their ideal. In less than twenty years they have made strides which surprised the whole world. Their ambition fires them and they are forging ahead under the government of liberal ideas.

Go forth and then the sacred fire
Of thy genius to the laurel may aspire;
To spread around the fame,
And in victory acclaim,
Through wider spheres the human name.

Day, O happy day,
Fair Filipinas for thy land!
So bless the power to-day
That places in thy way
This favor and this fortune grand.

VII

THE AMERICAN STANDARD IN THE PHILIPPINES

Retracing the successive steps which the Filipinos have taken during the last twenty-three years shows how they have developed. The American policy in the Philippines is a challenge to the world, proving that a deviation from the seemingly established path of colonial administration is not necessarily detrimental to the interests of the conquered and much less to the purposes of the sovereign.

The American rule in the Philippines shows three salient features which are worthy of notice: first, that under proper methods and standards two races entirely different from each other can enter into a partnership and work together as if one; second, the Philippine administration is a reflection of the spirit of America — America in its ambitious youth and utmost national pride; third, that the Philippine policy has been a success because of the willing coöperation of the Filipino people.

The Americans and the Filipinos are two distinct races which were foreign to each other until the Spanish-American War which brought the two peoples face to face. With the exception perhaps of the Catholic religion, their civilization has nothing in common. They live under opposite climatic conditions; and have different temperaments, with ideas and traditions most dissimilar. Yet their partnership has worked with the least possible friction. This aspect alone should command the admiration of the world in general, and of that class of people in particular which has made charges that the administration of the Philippine affairs is a total failure. It is not quite possible to state the reason for this harmony which stands unparalleled in the history of colonization. This much may be said that those who have been in contact with Filipinos in experiences where their opportunities are equally recognized will agree with the writer

that of all Orientals the Filipinos are most assimilable and come nearest to the Americans. Aside from the American sympathy for his "brown brother", they soon find a common ground. It is true the Filipinos are Catholic as are many Americans but where the church and state are divorced the church exerts little influence and may become negligible. Some have attributed the extraordinary harmony of the two peoples to the fact that the Filipino people are to a degree civilized in European mediaevalism which places them at an advantage over the rest of the Oriental peoples. This argument may have some bearing on the controversy but what about England in India or in Egypt? England has been in these countries for many decades, yet these people find little reason for appreciating the British policy. It may be that the Filipinos are a peculiar people to adapt themselves to new conditions, as it has been supposed, but the writer is inclined to believe that any people can adapt itself to a new situation especially if it is superior to theirs if they are given the opportunity. It all depends upon how much is conceded and if England, for instance, had tried to Anglicize her colonies as the United States did her territories they would perhaps have established a sympathetic relationship which would grow closer as time rolled by. The coöperation has been possible because America is human. She carried out her policy but was not unmindful of the aspirations and desires of the Filipino people. For this reason America deserves the everlasting gratitude of the Filipinos, of the Porto Ricans, and of the Cubans. As someone has said America has conquered with ideas where others have failed with swords.

Perhaps there is no other people in the world who are so proud of their ideals, institutions, and government as the American people. There are more in America than anywhere else who are willing to lay down their lives for the defense of their tradition. Proud of their ideals the Americans bravely pushed the western frontier to the ocean, and expanded the vast country as far north and south as it could be made to go. This is the spirit which dared to girdle the vast area of America with steel, piercing the rocky obstructions and reaching from one side of

the valley to the other. This is the strong and bold spirit which raised the channels of traffic overhead; it is the spirit which bored subways, and built over them massive structures which defy the skies. The ambition of young America is made manifest in a multitude of ways.

With respect to her colonies it is significant that America Americanizes wherever she goes. She has Americanized the Hawaiian Islands; she carried the same spirit to the Porto Ricans, and in less than a quarter of a century, she established an Oriental America in the Philippines. America is the only country which offers her social system to the territories and teaches her traditions to all those with which she comes in contact and in this peaceful way extends an invitation to join in fraternal fellowship and mutual understanding. This has been realized abroad; it is emphasized at home among the millions who hail from all quarters of the globe. They are taught the traditions of America so that they, too, may enjoy the blessings of liberty which make for progress and self-development. The public schools of America are the backbone of American loyalty and patriotism, molding the lives of millions to the standard of American citizenship. The public schools work upon the young; the Americanization movement works upon the old. Such a spirit should command the unqualified support of patriotic Americans who wish to see the pride and tradition of America maintained against the oncoming millions. America is the only country which allows political rebirth; the other countries of the world depend upon the multiplication of their subjects. Education as the basis of representative government is being emphasized in the Philippines. In her external obligations and policies America alone reveals the humane motive. The several wars America has entered have been actuated by humane motives. "In the name of humanity and on behalf of civilization the war in Cuba must stop" is an oft repeated saying in the Philippines. The interventions in Mexico were all caused by inhuman cruelties. The United States entered the World War to make "the world safe for democracy".

The spirit of America has been made manifest in the Philip-

pires in several ways. Three may be noticed: first, in the material development of the country; second, in the educational system; third, in the popular participation in government.

Those who have watched the progress of the Philippines along material lines must have realized the enormous changes which have occurred during the last decade. To be sure, the resources of the Philippines have not been developed as much as could be desired but never before did the Filipino people see a more progressive era. The spirit of American progress is apparent in many ways—in the improved means of communication including railroads, paved roads, telephone and telegraph lines; in public works of all kinds; in modern means of sanitation; and especially in the popularity of goods and articles “Made in America”. This phase is so apparent to the casual observer that it would not be overstressing it to say that as the United States of to-day is not the same United States as in 1898, so the Philippines of to-day are not the same Philippines as before the Spanish-American War. In that year the United States laid aside its policy of isolation: in that year the Philippine Islands opened their doors to the western civilization. It can not be disputed that the Americans have offered to the Filipinos better opportunities than they have ever known. The multitude of public and permanent improvements which the American genius has achieved in the Philippines will remain as a source of inspiration to the Filipino youth.

In the second place America Americanized the Filipinos through the public schools. The Filipinos have learned that education alone enlightens people. Little do the American people perhaps realize that through the Philippine public schools the Filipinos learn the institutions, customs, and traditions of America. Through this peaceful means the Filipinos learn of the “land of the free and the home of the brave”. They study the struggles of the Americans against British oppression, read of American aspirations for independent statehood, and of the marvellous progress which the Americans have achieved during the last century which has placed them as one of the sovereigns of the world. “Whatever you want done by the State put it in

schools'' was a principle announced by a German statesman. America conquered through schools and the Filipinos are realizing that but for the schools democracy would be a failure in the Philippines. It goes without saying that the Filipinos have been most responsive and appreciative so that they, too, are all the more inspired to become a strong nation in the Far East.

Textbooks written by American authors and American literature have made for the rapid Americanization of the Filipino people. Because of the public schools seventy per cent of the Philippine population above ten years of age have been saved from illiteracy. In two decades the English language has overshadowed the Spanish, reducing the old language to a place of insignificant importance as an instrument of communication. The knowledge of the English language is a national asset of universal significance to the Filipino people. Its mastery will qualify them not only for the world of commerce but also for a membership in the family of nations.

Thirdly, the Americans have extended to the Filipino people what they fought for in 1896. They have individual liberty with its inherent privilege of participation in the government. A government created by the people and maintained by the people is least felt but not least effective. For this reason it coincides with human character. It is an established opinion that the liberal spirit on the part of the United States explains the success of the American régime in the Philippines. The Filipino people gratefully acknowledge the concession which they never saw before.

The manner in which the Filipinos were given the privilege of shaping their own government has been intensive as well as extensive. Even in the first days of military rule local governments were organized on principles of popular government. Nine years after the destruction of the Spanish fleet, the Philippine Assembly was inaugurated, composed of Filipinos and elected by Filipinos; and nine years later the Philippine Legislature became popularly elected. Add to this the gradual promotion of Filipinos to appointive positions, a process popularly known as the Filipinization of the insular service, and it is not too much

to say that in eighteen short years the government of the Philippine Islands changed from one of Americans with the coöperation of the Filipinos to one of Filipinos with the aid of Americans.

To an impartial observer the magnitude and significance of such a policy is far reaching. The mere idea that every individual is an indispensable part of the great commonwealth, the sum total of whose support makes for the maintenance of society, is an enviable blessing to be cherished by every man. This is one of the outstanding attractions of the United States to the peoples on the other side of the ocean. Arbitrary rule can be endured for some time, but never all the time. The Israelites endured making bricks without straw for four hundred years; the Filipinos endured arbitrary taxation for three hundred and thirty years. Time has brought the verdict. Kingdoms and empires are disappearing one after another. They were a necessary stage in the human development, but their terms have expired and there is now evolving a form of law and justice which comes closest to human conscience and sentiment. Like a home the best government is where discipline is least felt.

The policy of England in her colonies and that of the United States in the Philippines show very decided contrasts. In the first place, England never intended to Anglicize her many colonies. It seems that the scores of years in Egypt, the century in the Malay States and the three hundred years in India have failed to impart the English language to over one per cent of the population. These countries have refused the social systems of Great Britain. Obviously, the main object of the British government is to develop the material resources of her colonies and stimulate commerce to the highest degree. At the same time it is hoped that the inhabitants will be more contented as they become more productive and progressive. In this respect, the United States has yet to learn from England. The development of the Philippine resources has been retarded for two reasons: first, because of the constant agitation for independence and the failure of the United States to define its policy until 1916. This fact kept conditions rather unstable. The second

reason is because of certain class interests which controlled the majority in Congress for a decade.

The question may be raised as to whether a European government may thrive in Asia. To be sure, there are obstructions in the way; for instance there are dynasties to be broken down, besides numerous castes which tend to oppose liberal government. But in return it may be said that the Filipinos never saw a republican form of government before and yet they have carried it out successfully. The American policy in the Philippines will weaken the prestige of England in her colonies by inspiring the colonial inhabitants to desire the same era of liberal ideas and progress as the Filipinos now enjoy.

The third feature of the American administration in the Philippines which must be observed, is that the administration has been made possible because of the willing coöperation of the Filipino people. This is recognized by the officials who have to do with the Philippine affairs and stands as an indisputable fact. No policy can be put into execution upon an unwilling people. The Filipinos are ambitious and because they are, they have given every assistance to the American authorities in order to hasten the realization of their ambition.

Within the last eight years occasional charges have been made to the effect that the Philippines have been hopelessly neglected. These charges are either the after effects of the changes which followed the Democratic victory in 1912 or are an evidence of party loyalty, if not party prejudice. Indeed the extension of self-government has been hastened during the last eight years to the dismay of the conservative factions in the United States. The passage of the Jones Law in 1916 was considered a radical step which almost overshadowed the Republican policy in the Philippines for sixteen years. From 1898 to 1916 the administration of the Philippine affairs had been provisional with no definite policy embodied in law. The Filipinos took things for granted on the basis of official diplomacy on the part of American officials in the Islands. The Jones Law provided among other things for the Filipinization of the Philippine service. It gave the Filipino people the elective Senate with all the ordi-

nary prerogatives of that body, especially the power to approve the appointments made by the Governor General. The Philippine Legislature was given the broadest powers, including the power to reorganize the executive departments which are now under the Filipinos themselves. Lastly, the law promised the recognition of Philippine independence as soon as a stable government shall be established therein.

These provisions shocked the more or less conservative factions in the United States who believed that the work of the first sixteen years was shattered. The Filipinos know that such provisions were not forthcoming for a decade under the Republican rule. The question may be asked whether such concessions under the Democratic Party were not a little too rapid for the safety and interests of the Filipino people. This remains to be seen, but so far there has not been any evidence to that effect.

The Republican victory in the last general election raises two questions in regard to the administration and policy in the Philippines within the next four years. It has been noted that throughout the Democratic administration in the Philippines the Republicans pitilessly condemned the policy of Filipinizing the civil service. Will the next Republican Governor General restore the old order of American superiors and Filipino subordinates in the offices or is he going to continue the liberalism of the outgoing party in this respect? This is a very serious aspect of the Philippine administration for the change can not be effected without the strong opposition of the majority of the Filipino people. The policy of Filipinizing the Philippine service is officially provided for in the Jones Law but its execution rests with the Governor General. From this standpoint the problem of making the change according to the Republican theory of administration hinges on the chief executive. It is to be hoped that whatever changes may be made or proposed, will be effected in the most amicable way and to the interests of the Filipino people as it should always be. After the liberalism of the Democratic administration the Republican Party will find the restoration of old methods in the Philippines a difficult task.

The other aspect of the Democratic régime which has always

been considered an unnecessary mistake by party opponents is the power of the Philippine Senate to approve the appointments made by the Governor General. This raises the second question — will the Republicans strike this provision out of the Jones Law? If the new administration decides to return to the old order of appointing Americans to the executive departments this action will meet with the determined opposition of the Senate. Of these two aspects of the problem, this much may be said: the Filipinos are determined to remain where they now are and any attempt to change their position which has the effect of throwing them back will create friction. They have gone too far to turn and retrace their steps. The continuity of the peace and progress of the Philippines will depend upon the diplomatic tact of the next Republican Governor General of the Philippines.

There is no doubt that foreign capital will be more encouraged to flow into the Philippines under the Republican rule than under the Democratic régime. Within the last three years capital entered the Islands in the most unprecedented way, but it is supposed that it was because independence was not forthcoming as it seemed in 1915, and since the Republicans were bound to return and under their administration independence is much less likely to be realized, capital felt safe to enter the Islands. If this opinion proves true, and it seems to be in accordance with American inclination, then the Philippines will see the banner period of economic development under the Republican Party. This much is encouraging and the Filipinos will be most benefited.

The triumph of the Republican Party will defer the prospect for independence for at least four years. While it will stimulate the well directed efforts of propaganda, the Filipino people can not but feel that they are like a football which is kicked from one end of the field to the other and arrives nowhere. It seems that the national progress of the Filipinos will have to be the mean or the resultant mean of the two mighty Republican and Democratic forces which pull in opposite directions. This is the attendant experience of a dependency. It is at the mercy of

party prejudices. A structure which one party builds rises only to be crushed down by the other.

THE AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

It is not within the compass of this monograph to discuss the readiness or the unreadiness of the Filipinos for independence, the burning subject which, in spite of its nobleness of purpose, has been much mutilated by political prejudice. However, it seems fitting to make at least an estimate of how the problem stands in the mind of the average American citizen in the United States. Therefore an impartial presentation of the general attitude of the Americans toward the subject of Philippine independence seems desirable at this point.

It is now provided by law that the United States will sometime in the future withdraw from the Philippine Islands and recognize their political independence. This promise to the Filipinos is to be fulfilled as soon as a stable government can be established therein. On the theory that a law is a solemn expression of public opinion, the Jones Law of August 29, 1916, embodies this purpose of the Americans.

The political history of the Central and South American Republics, not excluding Mexico and the Philippines, led the world to question whether the Latin races have the genius for political independence. The rise of arbitrary dictatorship in Central and South America and in Mexico has created an opinion in the United States which only time and good works can eradicate. The sister republics in the south seem to have regained their reputation; and it remains for the Mexicans and the Filipinos to do likewise. To the American people, Mexico and the Philippines are first degree political cousins if not brothers of the same Spanish parentage for they seem to have identical political temperaments. Indeed the popular opinion is that when independence is granted to the Filipinos, Mexico will be duplicated in the Far East. It is, indeed, unfortunate that such an opinion should be entertained in the United States, but the history of the Philippine Revolution seems to have justified the westerners in this attitude of mind. It is chiefly derived

from the story of General Emilio Aguinaldo, the first President of the short-lived Philippine Republic, whose power as a dictator developed in the following manner.²³⁹

At the meeting of the *Katipuneros* in San Fernando de Malabon, on March 12, 1897, Don Emilio Aguinaldo then commanding captain of a battalion against Spain was elected President of the Central Government which would have charge of the proposed revolution against Spain. Andres Bonifacio, the organizer of the society of Katipunan, was elected the Director of the Department of Interior; but, offended because some opposed his nomination, he left the hall in disgust, saying that as the organizer of the society he refused to recognize the actions taken at the meeting. He and his two brothers betook themselves to the mountains. Aguinaldo despatched two companies to arrest the brothers. In the fight which ensued one of the brothers was killed and Andres, himself wounded, was captured and, with his remaining brother, was shot later.

There is yet to be found an impartial critic and witness of this event who could furnish a justifiable reason for Aguinaldo's act. This was the beginning of the rise of his personal ambition which earned him the title of insurgent leader and arbitrary dictator to stain the spotless and legitimate aspirations of the Filipino people. Furthermore, during the war with the Americans and at the time military services and intellectual faculties were most needed, Aguinaldo eliminated General Luna in the most treacherous manner, simply because Aguinaldo thought his colleague was trying to replace him. This incident destroyed the favorable impression of the statesmanship and valor of the Filipino people formerly held by the Americans, compelling them to believe that the aspiration for independence is a class agitation under the cloak of unselfish patriotism.

The reforms which were demanded of Spain were unquestionably the crystallization of the honorable aspiration of the Filipino race for a freer life. But when personal ambition, disguised in patriotic clothes, dominates, a cause however praiseworthy and noble becomes corrupt, to the contempt and disgust

²³⁹ See Mabini's *The Rise and Fall of the Philippine Revolution*.

of the world. Such is the result, the unfortunate result of the Philippine Revolution of 1896 and of the war with the Americans in 1899. The execution of Andres Bonifacio shows Aguinaldo overwhelmingly ambitious for personal power. Upon this very weakness the enemies of the stern but loyal General Luna concentrated their selfish efforts. By employing the men whom General Luna had punished for discipline Aguinaldo crushed the morale of the Filipino force. Andres Bonifacio used to say that we should fear history. The Philippine Revolution failed because it was badly directed. In his reliable and trustworthy colleague in the person of General Luna, Aguinaldo saw a rival who tried to snatch his power away from him. It has not been fully realized in the Philippines that Aguinaldo's arbitrary acts during the war, followed later in 1907, by the election of Dr. Gomez to the Philippine Assembly, have led the American people to question the ability and the genius of the Filipinos for popular government. This distrust retards the movement for self-government and the immediate consequence is that the question of independence, worthy of consideration as it is, has received only scant attention in the United States; there is a strong suspicion that it is a movement engineered by a few of Aguinaldo's type and temperament. For this reason it has failed to acquire the dignity of a great popular agitation. Add to this the apparent backwardness and poverty of the Filipinos and the sincere agitation for self-government loses its prestige. The Filipinos have not yet gained the confidence of the American people—indeed their most highly esteemed statesmen are classed with the famous Villa of Mexico.

There are other aspects of the independence movement which should command the earnest consideration of every citizen of the Philippine Islands. First, the movement has been hopelessly corrupted in politics. Those who watch Philippine politics must have realized how campaign speeches are enlivened by the appeal for independence. Championed on the stump and on every occasion the independence propaganda has assumed the aspect of partisan agitation. The Filipino press supports the natural aspiration of the people and it has not been slow to make polit-

ical capital of every issue which relates to the problem. The independence movement should be divorced from politics. By its nature and character, it is a national aspiration which should command the earnest consideration of every Filipino citizen.

The second phase of the movement which must not be overlooked is the fact that ever since the American rule the Nacionalista Party has been the sponsor of the agitation. To that extent it seems to an impartial observer like a class agitation.

Thirdly, there has not been any systematic attempt to educate the Filipino people on the issue of independence. According to American standard the great mass should be educated on all phases of the issue and the fact that the Legislature which is elected by the people endorses the movement does not necessarily indicate the desire of the public. This is a very essential aspect of the issue which the Filipino leaders have overlooked in the campaign for independence. To the American people who will pass their opinion on the subject this need is indispensable before any favorable consideration can be entertained, and until a popular vote is taken the American people will continue to nourish the idea that the agitation for independence is a class agitation.

The passage of the Jones Law promising independence as soon as a stable government shall be established therein has been a source of encouragement. It has encouraged and stimulated a more organized propaganda for independence in America than ever before. Worthy of note in the propaganda is the fact that the Filipino press has been confining its argument for the issue to the legal aspect and insists that America must fulfill her promise. In the opinion of the Filipino press "America is On Trial" to redeem her word. To the American mind, however, the promise is discretionary, giving to Congress a wide discrimination. It is believed that the Filipino people must demonstrate the best in *every respect* of national existence in order to convince America that they are prepared to be given the duties and the responsibilities of an independent nation; that a perfect governmental machinery which operates without loud jarrings does not necessarily guarantee perfect peace and order in time

of crisis. In other words, the American people believe that political stability is only a partial fulfillment of the required condition for a stable government, and the Filipinos must also overcome the apparent backwardness which is so evident to the observer. The Americans believe that the Filipinos have developed politically in a wonderful manner; that as far as this phase is concerned they are far ahead of Cuba when independence was conceded to it. But according to the American standard they must develop economically for economic development and independence are the measure of efficient government and a prosperous people.

This is the general attitude in America toward the Filipinos with respect to their aspiration for self-government. Time and facts only will convince Americans. In regard to conceding independence, the Democrats and the Republicans have practically identical policies although the former are inclined to grant it sooner than the latter. This is indicated by the fact that during the Democratic administration the Filipinos became practically independent as has already been shown. Whatever the aspiration of the Filipinos may be, the United States has set up a high standard for them. As an official once said, the apple is high and the Filipinos must climb for it and not merely shake it into their hat. While President of the United States, Mr. Taft said: "We should endeavor to secure for the Filipinos economic independence and to fit them for complete self-government, with the power to decide eventually, according to their own largest good, whether such self-government shall be accompanied by independence." In 1913 Governor General Harrison conveyed this message of President Wilson to the Filipino people:

We regard ourselves as trustees acting not for the advantage of the United States but for the benefit of the Philippine Islands. Every step we take will be taken with a view to the ultimate independence of the Islands and as preparation for that independence. And we hope to move toward that end as rapidly as the safety and permanent interests of the Islands will permit. After each step taken, experience will guide us to the next.

The Republican platform for 1920 made no provision concern-

ing the Philippines and the Democratic platform merely restated the well established policy which every person has committed to memory that Philippine independence will be granted "without unnecessary delay". These testimonies tend to show that America is determined to pursue the process of gradual evolution; that she is reluctant to leave her task unfinished. The Republican Party has never been disposed to grant the Filipinos their freedom, and coupled with this the fact that in the United States the Philippine problem is like a drop in the bucket, the prospect for the realization of the Filipinos' aspiration does not appear bright. The term which begins in March has before it colossal problems to solve and unless the Filipinos win the attention of the new Congress the cause is bound to be drowned.

AMERICA'S PRIDE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Perhaps it is not fully realized in the United States that the Filipino people, notwithstanding their constant agitation for independence which has given the impression of dissatisfaction, are indebted to the American people for what is in the Philippines to-day. The Philippines have been so metamorphosed during the last twenty-three years that the Philippines of to-day are no longer the Philippines of yesterday. The Americans who question the administration in the Philippines should, instead, take pride in the public improvements which have been effected during their régime. In place of narrow roads, which at times became impassable, there are to-day broad and well kept highways which shorten the distance from one town to another. The Philippines take pride in the seven thousand miles of the best macadamized roads in the world. Modern bridges span the rivers and dales where before feeble structures made traffic so insecure. In the provincial capitals large concrete buildings have replaced the wooden ones to house the ever increasing business of the government. Added to these are the many modern school houses which have arisen since the American administration and still continue to rise one after another to accommodate the eager youths to get an education. There is every reason for encouragement. The Philippines are making a place

in the world's trade. Steam has shortened the world's girdle to Manila and has likewise made inter-island traffic most common. Isolation is no longer tolerated in the Philippines. Port works have been expanded and lighthouses erected to direct sailors to paths of safety. The opening of the Islands alone makes for a more united Filipino race and adds to the solidarity of the ambitious people.

Under the American rule the Philippines have entered into government ownership of the railroads. The government has been operating the railroad at a profit much larger than the private owner ever gained. The Philippine National Bank, established in 1916, increased its total assets from 11,800,000 pesos to 210,942,000 pesos in 1918. It is practically owned by the Filipino people through their government which furnished over half the capital. The National Development Company and the National Hemp Company were created by the government and largely capitalized by it in 1919 to exploit and develop the natural resources of the Islands, especially the hemp industry. The government of the Philippines opened the rich island of Mindanao to settlers, labor, and capital. The development of this island means the economic growth of the Philippines.²⁴⁰

Public health is to-day far safer than it was twenty years ago. The Philippines are adopting modern methods of sanitation. One of the best equipped hospitals in the world and the model hospital in the Far East is the Philippine General Hospital in Manila.

The Filipino people take a superlative pride in their educational system and its accomplishment. The enterprise saved seventy per cent of the population above ten years of age from illiteracy. The appropriation of fifteen million dollars in 1918 will extend primary education to the most remote places, which have not been reached so far. There are universities and colleges in the Philippines but the largest and most modern is the University of the Philippines which was organized in 1908. It

²⁴⁰ See Harrison's article in *Reconstruction*, June, 1920; *The Modern Review* (Calcutta), March, 1919, p. 298; *The Manila Times*, November 2, 1919, pp. 1, 4.

has the colleges of liberal arts, education, medicine, law, agriculture, engineering, veterinary science, besides the schools of pharmacy, dentistry, forestry, fine arts and music. The Far East looks upon the Philippines as a model in educating the Oriental peoples.

During this period the Filipinos have perfected a governmental machinery which is adapted to the temper and peculiar conditions of the country. Indeed the Filipinos believe they have a better structure and a more workable government than the United States, their teacher and their tutor. As has been demonstrated the Philippines have adopted a budget system, something which the United States has never known. The parliamentary system has done away with the irresponsibility inherent in the presidential system. This is an improvement which the Filipinos are proud of.

The political life of the Philippines to-day is a paradise compared with their previous condition under the Spanish régime. Well protected by law the Filipinos to-day live under conditions which they never knew before. Their inalienable rights and liberties are now made the concern of the government. No law may be passed which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; and every person is guaranteed equal protection of the laws. In the Philippines, Americans and Filipinos come before the same court and are judged under the same law. The bill of rights enumerated in the organic law protects the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and the freedom of religion. Once for all the church and state have been separated. All these make for a freer and more secure public life which have been realized under the American régime. Needless to say the conversion of the non-Christian tribes to accept the government, marks the beginning of the unification of the Filipino people.

That the Filipino people remain gratefully indebted to the United States is unquestionable. The Philippines will always be the ally of the United States. With the ever increasing spirit of nationality among the Filipino people, reinforced by their

ardent ambition for independent statehood, the Philippines are bound to become America in miniature.

America conquered with wisdom and ideals where others have failed with force and compulsion.

